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ART. I.—PURCELL'S 'LIFE OF
CARDINAL MANNING.'

Life of Cardinal Manning, Archbishop of Westminster. By
EDMUND SHERIDAN PURCELL, Member of the Roman
Academy of Letters. (London, 1895.)

UNDER any circumstances the history of Cardinal Manning's life would have attracted attention and excited interest. Born in 1808, making his mark at Oxford in the Schools, and as a speaker at the Union, an archdeacon at the age of thirty-two, and even before that time known and powerful in the Anglican Church, becoming a Roman Catholic in 1851, winning for himself a position of influence in his new surroundings, an archbishop, a leading Father of the Council which decreed the infallibility of the Pope, a cardinal, dying at the age of eighty-four venerated by persons and classes of the most varied types, Henry Edward Manning is certainly entitled to a place among the great men of English and European history of the present century.

And even under different circumstances than those which have surrounded its publication, Mr. Purcell's *Life* would have been a widely read book. Of the first volume Mr. Gladstone has said that he has not merely been 'interested,' 'but even fascinated and entranced by it.'¹ The contents of the second volume are of hardly less absorbing interest. The whole work contains over fifteen hundred pages, many of them printed in small type. We have read it from the first page to the last without once wishing that we had reached the end.

¹ In a letter addressed to Mr. Purcell, and printed by him in the *Nineteenth Century* for March 1896.

This peculiar interest cannot be accounted for by Mr. Purcell's skill in matters of detail. As a piece of literary work the book is eminently calculated to annoy a reader at every turn. Misspelt names and words, inexact quotations, wrong dates, mistakes and repetitions frequently occur, while the taste of some passages is deplorable. And if a reader before laying down the book when he has reached the end compares the lengthy lists of *errata* with the notes which he himself has made, it is a little trying for him to find that a very small proportion of the blunders are corrected, and that in more instances than one Mr. Purcell's corrections introduce new confusion into what was confused enough before.¹ The fascination of the history lies in the facts that are recorded and in the many documents which the volumes contain.

The circulation of the *Life* must have been largely increased by the reception with which it has met from many Roman Catholics. It was published on January 10 in the present year. A week later the first instalment of a bitterly hostile review appeared in the *Tablet*. At the end of the month the executors of Cardinal Manning wrote to the *Times*, emphatically repudiating any responsibility for, or sympathy with, Mr. Purcell's work. In the *Nineteenth Century* for February Cardinal Vaughan contributed an article which began with the words 'The publication of this *Life* is almost a crime,' and went on to condemn the book in strong terms.

The chief accusations which have been made against Mr. Purcell are two in number. He has been charged with misrepresenting Cardinal Manning's wish as to the publication of very much of the contents of the book, and it has been said that his arrangement of materials and comments upon them are of such a kind as to present an entirely false picture

¹ The worst instance of this is the needed correction of '23' for '24' in i. 693. The list of *errata* alters the number, but gives no hint that the alteration overthrows the whole argument of the passage to which it refers, the point of which depends on the number being 24. In other cases the *errata* are themselves wrong. One of the oddest mistakes in the book is the reference in i. 434 note ¹ to a note which does not exist for a letter from the late Archdeacon Denison of which we can find no trace in either volume. The omitted letter is stated to be of a different date from that quoted two pages before. An instance of entire misstatement of fact will be found by readers who will take the trouble to compare the account given by Mr. Purcell (ii. 545) of Cardinal Manning's controversy with regard to his extraordinary assertion that the 'Sacred Heart of our Lord' 'was deified' with the complete correspondence between Dr. Nicholson of Leamington and Father Guiron, the Archbishop's secretary, which was published in the *Guardian* for September 17, 1873, pp. 1200-2. As we have implied above, we have no doubt that Mr. Purcell is wrong in saying that Cardinal Manning was born in 1807.

of the late Cardinal. Letters which the *Life* 'throws into the street,' says Cardinal Vaughan, 'had not been preserved for publication'; 'nothing will ever persuade' him 'that Cardinal Manning intended his diaries' 'to be printed in full and sold to the public within four years of his death'; he believes that his predecessor 'would rather that his right hand had been cut off, that he had been suddenly struck dead, than that many of the documents which fill these volumes should have been published as they have been'; he is 'bound to say that' he does 'not recognize the portrait of him, with whom' he 'was in constant communication during forty years, if' he excepts 'two years' he 'spent in the Americas collecting for foreign missions.'

In the preface to his work Mr. Purcell thus described the commission which he received:

'In placing in my hands his earliest Diary, written in his Lavington days, Cardinal Manning said, "The eye of no man has seen this little book. It has never before passed out of my keeping." This Diary, in which were recorded his innermost thoughts; his sorrows of heart; his loneliness at Lavington; his confessions; his trials and temptations, had evidently never been opened by Cardinal Manning since the day he left Lavington for ever; for the dust of time, and faded flowers, and book-markers that had lost their once brilliant colours, mementoes of the past, lay between its pages. Before, however, this intimate record of his early life was finally given to me for the purposes of this biography, Cardinal Manning carefully and wisely removed from its pages every record or reflection or statement which he did not consider fit or expedient to be laid before the public eye.

'But besides and beyond his Letters and Diaries, Cardinal Manning himself was a living source, *fons et origo*, of information. When the mood or the inspiration came he opened his mind and spoke without reserve.

'In like manner and for a like purpose, all his other Diaries, Journals, and autobiographical Notes, in accordance with his wish and will, passed into my possession. I did not attempt to revise or reverse Cardinal Manning's directions. In his Diaries, Journals, and Notes he told the story of his own life; laid bare the workings of his heart, its trials and temptations, sometimes its secrets and sorrows. It was not for me by suppressions to amend or to blur his handiwork. On the contrary, it was my duty and my delight to let the chief actor in this complex drama tell the tale of his own life, and, as far as may be, in his own words.

'Hence I have not omitted or suppressed a single letter, document, or autobiographical Note essential to a faithful presentation of character, or to the true story of events, with one sole exception. This exception is an autobiographical Note, written by Cardinal Manning in 1890, on the corporate action of the Society of Jesus in

England and in Rome. It was considered wise or expedient to omit, at all events for the present, this Note of five or six pages, on the ground that it might give pain to persons still living, or provoke controversy at home or abroad.

'Second only in interest to the self-revelations and confessions contained in his numerous Diaries and Notes is the voluminous correspondence to which Cardinal Manning especially directed the attention of his biographer, as forming materials essential to the true presentation of his life. This correspondence falls into three periods. The first is Manning's letters from Oxford to his brother-in-law, John Anderdon; the second his letters to Laprimaudaye, his curate at Lavington, and to Robert Wilberforce; and the last series to Mgr. Talbot, the private chamberlain of Pope Pius IX. at the Vatican.

'Every one of these letters of material interest or importance appears in the "Life" without alteration or omission, for they form a rich source of information in regard to the character, the acts and motives of Cardinal Manning, alike in his Anglican and Catholic days.

'Hour after hour, on many an evening in these years I am referring to, Cardinal Manning gave a most graphic and interesting account of his early years at Totteridge, his first home and birthplace; of his oratorical triumphs at the Oxford Union; of his intimacy in the prime of life with men eminent in Church and State and Letters' (Preface, pp. vi-vii).

In consequence of this statement, the Cardinal's executors, in their letter to the *Times*, explained how certain documents came into Mr. Purcell's hands:

'No papers or documents were bequeathed to Mr. Purcell by the Cardinal's will, and Mr. Purcell's name is not even mentioned in it. All his manuscripts, papers, books, and copyrights were bequeathed to us absolutely.

'Shortly after Cardinal Manning's death, Mr. Purcell, having satisfied us that he had obtained the Cardinal's sanction to write a biography, requested us to give him access to the documents in our possession. This, in an evil moment, we agreed to do, feeling that, as the Cardinal himself had acquiesced in the preparation of his biography by Mr. Purcell, we could not well do otherwise.'

There can be no question that Cardinal Manning intended Mr. Purcell to write the history of his life. Whether this intention was the Cardinal's own desire, as Mr. Purcell appears to imply, or whether he only acquiesced in an idea which his biographer suggested, as his executors would rather have us think, he assented to the work being done. There can be no question, again, that he meant Mr. Purcell to use papers of the most private kind in the writing of the biography. If it were not so, there would have been no object in the destruction of large parts of the diary before the rest was placed in

his hands.¹ What we think open to the gravest doubt is whether the Cardinal contemplated the actual publication of much of the diary and many of the letters. It may well have been that he wished his biographer himself to read documents in the public use of which a large discretion was to be observed. Which is the truer view is a secret which Cardinal Manning has carried with him to his grave. Or, is the truth that, with a great weariness of temporal concerns, he left the use of all the papers he did not destroy to be settled, apart from any personal wishes of his own, by the course of events?

For good or for evil, the diaries and the letters have been published. The really important question is how far the book which contains them is calculated to give a true impression of Cardinal Manning's character and life. We have already quoted the statement of his successor, that he does 'not recognize the portrait.' The executors in their letter to the *Times* wrote no less emphatically:

'We wish to state that as we, who knew the Cardinal for so many years and so intimately, do not in the least recognize him in this so-called biography; and as Mr. Purcell has quite failed to grasp his high and noble character, we intend, from the mass of materials at our disposal, to publish a real and complete history of his life.'

It is fair to Mr. Purcell to point out that he evidently anticipated such a charge as is contained in the above passage from the executors' letter, and that in preparing beforehand to meet it he laid some stress upon the Cardinal's 'high and noble character.' In the preface we read:

'It would be a supreme satisfaction to me and my best reward if, by the unreserved publication of all Cardinal Manning's diaries, journals, and autobiographical notes, his real character, the workings of his heart and soul, his inner life, are made manifest in the fulness and simplicity of truth.

'From the beginning a conflict or wrestling with self, as his diaries bear witness, was going on in his heart and soul, a struggle to square God's will with his own.

'The human side of his character was developed and displayed to the fullest: self-will, a despotic temper and love of power.

'But the supernatural side of his character was still more strongly

¹ In an article contributed to the *Month* for March 1896 Father Sydney Smith contends that the diary which Cardinal Manning placed in Mr. Purcell's hands was the Roman diary of 1847-8, a journal relating to external events, not the Lavington diary of 1844-7. Father Smith's argument is not without weight, and the extraordinary inaccuracy of the *Life* forbids us to attach importance to the impressions on Mr. Purcell's memory. But the destruction of parts of the Lavington diary indicates, as suggested above, an intention of some use being made of the parts which were not destroyed.

marked and more potent : a vivid belief in the Divine Presence, in the Voice of God speaking almost audibly, to use Cardinal Manning's own words, to his soul, and in the perpetual guidance of the Holy Ghost.

'In the dark and crucial hour of trial his vivid faith illumined his soul, and in spite of human weaknesses or wilfulnesses he was constrained by the grace and guidance of the Holy Ghost to submit absolutely and unreservedly his will to the will of God. It was the triumph in his soul of the supernatural over the natural' (Preface, p. xiii).

And at a later point in the work the biographer remarks : 'As good wine needs no bush, so a good and noble nature stands in no need of suppression of truth' (ii. 236).

Yet it is clear to us that Cardinal Manning's friends, and, we will add, the English public, have in this matter some ground for complaint. A very persistent tendency to interpret actions unfavourably may be observed throughout the work. The Cardinal, for instance, to the end of his life remained reticent about his marriage. Upon this his biographer comments :

'As a Priest and Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, he never alluded to his marriage, either because the fact of his having once been a married man was personally painful ; or because he feared that the common knowledge of his early marriage, strange as it may seem, might produce, somehow or other, among his Catholic flock, especially priests, monks, and nuns, an unpleasant impression derogatory to his high ecclesiastical dignity and position' (i. 104-5).

It might, one would think, have been suggested as another possible solution that the cause of his silence was not so much either shame or policy as the sorrow for his wife's early death, of which Mr. Purcell himself tells us that 'in his Anglican days' it was 'profound and abiding' (*ib.*), caused 'deep, abiding, and unspeakable anguish of heart' (i. 123), and on some occasions made it impossible for this strong-willed man 'to master the outward signs and tokens of his exceeding great grief' (i. 159). Of such a view it might at least be said that it has the likelihood of continuity of character in its support.

In 1841 and the following years, again, Manning, when Archdeacon of Chichester, attacked the Church of Rome with so great vehemence as to cause a breach between himself and the Tractarians. Mr. Purcell's explanation is that

'to be implicated in any way with the Tractarian party at Oxford would, as he well knew, be destructive alike to his present work and future influence, and fatal to any hope or chance of ecclesiastical preferment. After carefully considering the state of things in regard

to his own position and responsibilities, Manning elected to take his stand by the protesting bishops, and to break with Newman and the 'Tractarian party' (i. 203).

Here, too, an alternative explanation might at least have been suggested. There is evidence in abundance in Mr. Purcell's own pages of the existence of a strong, not to say somewhat unbalanced, abhorrence of Rome in the Arch-deacon's mind. It would not be unnatural to take such an abhorrence as an indication that even the famous 5th of November sermon was the outcome of conviction.

A like tendency may be detected by means of a comparison of the Cardinal's own letters with his biographer's comments upon them. Mr. Purcell has an annoying habit of prefixing an anticipatory indication of the main points in correspondence he is about to quote; and in other ways he expresses or implies his opinion on matters dealt with in letters or notes. We have taken the trouble, in addition to reading the book continuously, to study separately the correspondence and the comments upon it. The result of such consideration is, in our judgment, to show that the impression which would naturally be conveyed by the correspondence taken by itself is in almost every case somewhat different from that which would naturally be conveyed by the comments taken by themselves; and that, not less uniformly, the biographer's remarks give a less pleasant idea than that suggested by the letters. There is only, perhaps, a slight difference in some cases, but the combination of slight differences throughout the book will very greatly affect the general view of character which it indicates.

In estimating the influence of such a point it must be remembered that only a very small proportion of readers will take the pains to isolate the documents and consider them by themselves. Many who read the book with a certain amount of care will find it difficult to prevent their judgment of the various papers it contains from being coloured by the setting in which they are placed. Many more will fail to pay close attention to some parts of so lengthy a work, and will be prone to accept the biographer's words as accurate summaries of the substance of what follows.

Mr. Purcell, indeed, contends that his portrait of Cardinal Manning is a presentation simply of facts:

'To say that Manning was not exempt from faults and failings is merely to admit that in him the old Adam struggled for mastery, and, at times, not altogether without success. It is, however, no part of my duty to indicate his shortcomings. I am not the judge, but simply

the chronicler of events. The events, recorded in his life as Anglican and as Catholic, speak for themselves, and afford ample materials for the reader, without any promptings of mine, to form his own judgment' (ii. 236).

With this view of the work we cannot agree. If it is the case—as, in our opinion, it is the case—that the 'materials' by themselves give a somewhat different impression from that which the 'promptings,' of which unquestionably there are many, convey, then Mr. Purcell has not succeeded in writing such a book as he describes.

We do not for one moment assert that the biographer has been intentionally dishonest. He has evidently been filled with the laudable ambition of producing a biography which should not be an idealized panegyric. He has apparently formed a particular view of Manning's character, and has fallen into the snare of being unduly influenced by that view. Every literary man of honest purpose knows the strength of the temptation to sharpen his weapons to too keen an edge, and the necessity of constant watchfulness over mind and pen, if he is to prevent himself from almost unconsciously shaping all that he writes into theories which he has formed. Had Mr. Purcell been sufficiently watchful against such a tendency, we think some of his statements would have been differently expressed. And there are indications throughout the book that a political prejudice against the Radicalism which, on some questions, so strongly marked the Cardinal's later years has not been without its effect on his biographer's mind.

It will be our painful duty to point out what we cannot but regard as weak sides of Cardinal Manning's actions and character. We desire to mention that in forming any opinion about the Cardinal as a result of the perusal of the present work, we have put wholly aside Mr. Purcell's own statements and have been guided solely by the facts and documents with which his industry has so copiously supplied the *Life*.

Anglican readers will note with special interest the history of the years which immediately preceded Manning's secession. As early as August 1846 he wrote to Mr. Gladstone that he had 'a fear, amounting to a belief, that the Church of England must split asunder' (i. 317). In the same month he wrote in his diary:

'The Church of England, after 300 years, has failed (1) in the unity of doctrine, (2) in the enforcement of discipline, (3) in the training of the higher life' (i. 450);

and declared that 'the Church of England' seemed to him 'to be diseased' 'organically' and 'functionally' (i. 483).

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Nearly a year later, in July 1847, there is an entry made after celebrating the Eucharist on the day before he went abroad when recovering from illness:

'I have just come down from the altar, having offered once more. . . . I never felt the power of love more: nor so much bound to my flock. It is the strongest bond I have. I believe it to be of the reality of the Catholic Church. And yet it will bear no theological argument, except a denial of visible unity altogether—which is self-evidently false.

'To-morrow by the will of God I go forth—it may be for a year, it may be for ever. I feel myself to be in His hands. I know not what is good for myself' (i. 342).

Early in 1848 he wrote to Robert Wilberforce that at the time when he refused the office of Sub-Almoner (1845) he 'did fear' 'lest the sphere of attraction should bias' him 'in weighing the great doubts which had then fully opened themselves to' him (i. 508). In August 1850 he was 'suffering much,' and felt that if he stayed in the Church of England he would 'end a simple mystic' (i. 559). In September of the same year, while he shrank 'with all the love and fear of' his 'soul,' he did 'not know how to resist the conviction' 'that the Church of England is in schism' (i. 560). In October he was 'conscious that' he had 'no hope for the Church of England' (i. 562). Four days later he felt 'sure that' his 'work in the Church of England' was 'over' (i. 564). In November, when as Archdeacon of Chichester he was required to convene a meeting of the clergy of the archdeaconry for the purpose of protesting against the 'Papal aggression,' he asked the Bishop to be allowed 'either to resign' his office 'at once' 'or to call the meeting ministerially and to state' his 'dissent and resignation' (i. 579). Before the month was ended he wrote to the Bishop and privately resigned his post (i. 588). In March 1851 he 'executed the resignation of' his 'office and benefice before a public notary' (i. 617), on April the 6th was received into the Roman Catholic Church (i. 620), and, after receiving Minor Orders seven days later, became a priest of that communion on Trinity Sunday¹ (i. 628).

¹ This is stated in the 'notes' on 'the first page of Manning's Diary' for 1851, where the entry '*Trinity Sunday*.—Priest' occurs (i. 628, note¹). There is a difference of a day in the date given by Mr. Purcell's narrative, according to which 'Manning, within ten weeks of his reception into the Church, received Holy Orders at the hands of Cardinal Wiseman in his private chapel on the Saturday in Whitsun week, 14th June 1851' (i. 633). By 'Holy Orders' Mr. Purcell apparently means Ordination to the Priesthood, since the entry under 13th April in the notes from the

The letters and diary in which the foregoing facts are told present a pathetic picture of a soul in doubt and pain. But there is another side. In August 1846 he wrote in his diary unsympathetically of Mrs. Lockhart's becoming a Roman Catholic (i. 449). In 1849 he made in writing a profession of faith that 'the Church in England, commonly called of England' is 'a member of' the 'one holy Catholic Church' (i. 464). In May 1850, addressing a lady in a letter of singular fairness, acknowledging the existence of a struggle in his own mind, he could say :

'Judging by the evidence of the Primitive Church, there are many, and they very grave and vital, points on which the Church of England seems more in harmony with Holy Scripture than the Church of Rome. . . . For three hundred years the grace of sanctity and of penitence has visibly dwelt and wrought in the Church of England' (i. 473).

In July of the same year, while again admitting difficulties and anxieties, he tells a correspondent that she 'may without fear trust' herself 'to the mercy of God through Jesus Christ in the Church of England,' and that 'the Church of England' seems to him 'to possess the divine life of the Church, and the divine food of that life, the Word and Sacraments of Christians' (i. 481).

We understand that others besides Mr. Purcell have thought that the comparison of the public utterances and some letters of Archdeacon Manning with letters of a different character and entries in his diary written during the same period, supplies ground for a charge of bad faith. We cannot say that we think such a charge can be fully substantiated. That he was perplexed, that his mind passed through rapid changes, that he was filled with doubts and doubted the doubts themselves, is plain enough. That at an earlier time he should have discontinued his ministrations in the Church of England, while still considering the tenability of her claims, will be questioned by few. But, in our judgment, the papers which record the pathetic perplexity of these few years, and the real attempt to act for the best in the entangling circumstances of his life, are misunderstood if the predominant feeling in the mind of the reader is not that of a great pity for a struggling soul.¹

diary is as follows: '13th April.—Palm Sunday, Confirmation. Tonsure. First Communion. Minor Orders. Sub-Deacon. Retreat. Deacon' (i. 628, note ¹).

¹ An explanation resembling that which we have given above is suggested by Mr. Purcell (i. 463-4). But the language he elsewhere uses,

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The fifth chapter in the second volume is entitled 'The Errington Case.' The documents which it contains include a correspondence carried on from 1859 to 1862, between Manning, then Provost of the Chapter of Westminster, and Mgr. Talbot, the Pope's chamberlain. In the year 1855, Bishop Errington was created titular Archbishop of Trebizond, and appointed by the Pope to be coadjutor with right of succession to Cardinal Wiseman at Westminster. As long before as 1838, Manning had distinguished 'British Romanists' from 'Italian,' and had identified the former with the 'Gallican' (i. 134). After he left the Church of England he frequently referred to the old English Romanists in the same way. This type of Romanism was to him 'one of the greatest evils in England' (ii. 99); 'the Chapter of Westminster' was classed with 'the Protestant Association of Bayswater' as a 'great antagonist' (ii. 101); it was worth while to suffer a good deal in order to inflict a 'wound' on the 'English form of Low Catholicism' (ii. 134); at a later date his hopes were placed in 'the million Irish in England and the sympathy of the Catholics in Ireland,' who had 'no sympathy for the watered, literary, worldly Catholicism of certain Englishmen' (ii. 324). His correspondent at the Vatican, Mgr. Talbot, agreed with him and saw that 'no great progress of religion' could 'be expected in England' 'until the old generation of bishops and priests' was 'removed' (ii. 101).

Among the adherents of this 'anti-Roman and anti-Papal' (ii. 108) form of religion, Archbishop Errington was prominent. If he should succeed Cardinal Wiseman in accordance with the rights solemnly conferred upon him by the Pope, there would be little hope of getting rid of the 'Gallican' 'evil,' and the Chapter of Westminster would be supported by the archbishop in antagonism to the Ultramontane principles which Manning loved. Accordingly we find Provost Manning making every effort to get rid of Dr. Errington. It was a difficult matter. He was constitutionally in possession of the office of coadjutor to Cardinal Wiseman, and of the right of succession. There was no constitutional method of depriving him of his position unless he committed some definite offence which would rightly merit deprivation. Still, there were powerful influences at Rome which could be used against him. He was offered the Archbishopric of the Port of Spain, Trinidad. Archbishop Errington knew as well as Provost Manning what the offer meant, and he refused it. Propaganda at Rome, at the and his exaggerated representation of the differences in the two parts of what he calls the 'double voice,' amount to an accusation of deceit.

request of Cardinal Wiseman, deprived him of his office of coadjutor. But the right of succession, the point of real importance, remained. In spite of protests from the English bishops, and from the Chapter of Westminster, Provost Manning, as representing Cardinal Wiseman, pleaded that this too might be taken from him. There was no ground for such an application, except the plea that he, with the other bishops, had resisted Wiseman. When Propaganda decided that he could not be deprived of the right of succession without a violation of the canon law, pressure of various kinds was put on Archbishop Errington to induce him to resign. On his sturdy refusal, the Pope commanded him to do so, and he acquiesced. We leave it to Roman Catholics to determine whether the jest of Pope Pius IX. that it was a '*coup d'état* of the Lord God' is better described as brilliant or as profane; we may be content to point out that on no constitutional theory of Church government is it possible to justify so arbitrary an exercise of power.

The Chapter of Westminster was not likely to forget either the action of Pope Pius IX. or the efforts of Provost Manning which had led to it. The three years that followed were years of conflict, and Propaganda was well supplied with work by the quarrels of Romanists in England. In 1865 Cardinal Wiseman died. No one had been granted the right of succession in Archbishop Errington's place. The Chapter of Westminster therefore selected, in accordance with the usual rule, three names to send to the Pope. These, after being submitted to the bishops of the province of Westminster, were forwarded to Rome. They were those of Bishop Clifford, Archbishop Errington, and Bishop Grant.² The selection of Archbishop Errington was described by Provost Manning as 'a grave affront to the Holy See'; and he added, 'Rome is far more at stake than the diocese of Westminster' (ii. 213). A letter written from Rome by Father Coffin, ascribes the same view to the Pope himself:

'On the 9th of last month, the day after my arrival, I had the happiness of seeing the Holy Father. He made no secret of what would be his feelings, if the *terna* should be what it has turned out to be. His Holiness said to me twice, and once to Father-General, "If the Chapter nominates Dr. Errington it will be an insult to the Pope—*un insulto al Papa*"' (ii. 213).

¹ In one of Manning's letters to Mgr. Talbot he wrote, 'It was, as the Holy Father said to Mgr. Capalti—"Il colpo di stato di Dominiddio"' (ii. 95).

² The order is alphabetical.

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It is unnecessary to do more than briefly recall the well-known fact that the Congregation of Propaganda set aside the three names selected by the Chapter of Westminster, on the ground of the 'insult to the Pope,' and that Pius IX. appointed Manning to the vacant Archbishopric.

Unlike Mr. Purcell, we acquit Provost Manning of acting from motives of self-interest in the intricate negotiations which took place between 1859 and 1865. That he did everything in his power to prevent Dr. Errington becoming Archbishop of Westminster, his letters make clear. We do not think that the only reason or the chief reason was his own advancement. The struggle to get rid of Dr. Errington was evidently to him a matter of life and death. He had made up his mind that the prosperity of the Roman Church in England depended on the destruction of the 'Gallican' spirit. If Dr. Errington should have succeeded Cardinal Wiseman, it would have increased the power of the school of thought which he abhorred, and would, in his opinion, have 'thrown back' the 'work and mission of the Church' 'for a whole generation' (ii. 99). The end in view seemed to him of sufficient importance to justify what he described to Mgr. Talbot as 'a tremendous campaign' (ii. 112).¹

But, while we do not think that his aim was a selfish one, we cannot acquit him of the use of wrong means. Granting that his letters to Mgr. Talbot do not disclose anything which goes beyond the ordinary methods of diplomacy, there is no doubt that he welcomed even the most unconstitutional of processes for the removal of Dr. Errington, and, no less than Mgr. Talbot, regarded the violation of the Church's laws and of common right as 'a great triumph' (ii. 110).

The consequences of Dr. Errington's deposition were, as Manning foresaw they would be, gigantic. To alter the general attitude of English Romanism towards the Papacy, to make the large majority of English Romanists Ultramontanes instead of Gallicans, was in itself a huge work. It was a result which, whatever help towards it may have been afforded by other not undistinguished Roman Catholics, was accomplished chiefly by means of Manning's genius and strength.

From our point of view, this incident affords a most significant instance of the peril of tampering with the constitutional laws of the Church. May it not have been in the Providence of God that the 'Gallican' spirit existed among

¹ Mr. Purcell does not ignore considerations such as we have mentioned above, but his tone throughout implies that Manning was influenced by self-interest.

English Romanists? At least, the English type of Romanism which Manning practically destroyed and which Errington would have fostered would have made it far more possible for our branch of the Church, as she grows in Catholic belief and practice, to make her true position clear to Romanists abroad than it is at the present time. The attitude of Cardinal Vaughan is sufficient indication of the added difficulty to a task that, under any circumstances, would have been hard. The 'great triumph' may have produced 'vast good' (ii. 112) from Manning's point of view. Its influence merely in English Romanism, to say no more for the moment, was to introduce a new barrier in the way of the restoration of the unity of the Church for which our Lord Jesus Christ prayed.

When we wrote of gigantic consequences, we were not thinking only of England. Humanly speaking, the decree of the Vatican Council of 1870, affirming the Infallibility of the Pope, would not have been passed if Errington, instead of Manning, had become Archbishop of Westminster. It has not, we think, been sufficiently realized how greatly that terrible disaster¹ was due to Manning. The opponents of the decree were influential as well as numerous. Hefele, Bishop of Rottenburg, Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, were among the most distinguished. They had a powerful organization and much hope of defeating the proposed decree. Against them, Manning's splendid abilities were untiringly used. Among the bishops who advocated the decree he was a leader. How the Italian prelates estimated his powers is shown by the fact that they chose him to represent them on the *deputatio de fide* when the English bishops had passed him by:

'The English Bishops met at the College and elected Bishop Grant for the list of the *deputatio de fide*. The American Bishops were told that as I was on the *suprema*, I ought not to be on two Deputations. The Italian Bishops met and put me into their list. One said, *Primo, Manning*. The Council voted, and I was elected on the *deputatio de fide*' (ii. 454).

His ability and activity were understood in very different circles:

¹ There are reasons for thinking that many Roman Catholics reject the sense in which the Vatican decree was understood by Manning as described in the passage he quoted about himself from the Archbishop of St. Louis's *Oratio habenda non habita*, 'Nullum dubium de Pontificis infallibilitate personali, separata et absoluta, aut ipse habet aut aliis ut habeant permittere vult' (ii. 456). But, however this may be, the passing of the decree must be regarded as disastrous.

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'During the Council the Italian papers attacked me incessantly. They gave me the noblest of titles, "Il Diavolo del Concilio" (ii. 457).

Whatever the help afforded by Manning to the Infallibilist party in the Council and in ecclesiastical circles outside it, he probably did more to secure the passing of the decree by his association with Mr. Odo Russell, the representative of the English Government at Rome during the Council, than by any other means. It is greatly to be regretted that Manning's letters to Mr. Russell could not be found when the *Life* was being compiled; those written by Mr. Russell are of the greatest interest. It is a strange spectacle to see a diplomatist who was not a Roman Catholic working hand in hand with the Archbishop of Westminster to secure the passing of the Infallibility decree, as it is amusing to know of his going to the station to count the number of the opposition bishops who were leaving Rome, and of the greatest significance to read that while Manning 'was writing to Mr. Gladstone,' he 'was writing to Lord Clarendon in the same sense and on the same subject' (ii. 445). As a diplomatist his victory was complete. Through his exertions—and, be it remembered, his strength lay in his intercourse with Manning—the Bavarian proposal that the English Government should take steps which would have delayed the work of the Council and so prevented the passing of the decree, was rejected by the English Cabinet. In Cardinal Manning's words:

'The Prime Minister, Mr. Gladstone, supported the Bavarian proposal on the grounds and by the arguments supplied to him by Acton; but Lord Clarendon, better informed by Odo Russell, exposed one by one the fallacious statements and wilful distortions of fact. Finally, after a hot discussion, Mr. Gladstone was defeated in the Cabinet, the Bavarian proposal was rejected, and the Vatican Council was left in peace to do God's work. Had the Council been prorogued according to the designs of the Opposition, owing to events—the Franco-German War, the seizure of Rome, the persecution of Catholics in Germany by Prince Bismarck—it would have been prorogued *sine die*. The Council, with the Pope a prisoner in the Vatican, could not have met again, and the Pope's Infallibility would have been undefined even to this day' (ii. 436).

Manning's habit of fixing his mind so strongly on the end he had in view as to make him too little careful of the means he used receives a noticeable illustration from his eagerness that Newman should not accept the Cardinal's Hat which was offered him by Pope Leo XIII. Some of the saddest pages of the *Life* are those which tell of the disagreement

and to a certain extent the estrangement of these two great men. The correspondence between them in 1867 and 1869 in which they wrangle, sometimes directly with one another, sometimes with Canon Oakeley as intermediary, and which ends by Newman writing to Manning, 'I do not know whether I am on my head or my heels when I have active relations with you' (ii. 346), is pathetic. But we do not think that it was only or mainly personal jealousy which led to Manning being unwilling that Newman should be honoured. The reason is rather to be found in his serious conviction that Newman's influence was mischievous. Thus, we find that after Mgr. Talbot had written that 'the introduction and some other passages' of 'Newman's letter to Pusey' 'are detestable' and 'his spirit must be crushed,' Manning replied 'what you write about Dr. Newman is true,' 'he has become the centre of those who hold low views about the Holy See' (ii. 322-3), and that on other occasions Mgr. Talbot, evidently expressing opinions held in common by himself and Manning, wrote, 'Dr. Newman is the most dangerous man in England' (ii. 318), and 'I do not think he has ever acquired the Catholic instincts' (ii. 323). That 'the same school' was 'growing up in France' made the Archbishop 'more anxious' (ii. 323) as early as 1866, and in 1867 he described Birmingham, with evident reference to both Newman and Ullathorne, as 'the centre of murmur and whispering' (ii. 410: cf. p. 375). To make, then, the influence of Newman as small as it could be made would be an end upon which his unswerving mind was fixed, as in greater matters it was fixed on the deposition of Errington and the Infallibility decree.

This, then, is, in our judgment, the explanation of some acts and incidents in Cardinal Manning's life of which it is not altogether pleasant to read. If we repudiate Mr. Purcell's comments on his letters and diaries, we are bound to say that there is sometimes found in these papers a type of astuteness which jars the moral sense. To call it duplicity, as some, following Mr. Purcell's lead, have done, is to be unjust. Yet there certainly is, with the strong grip on the desirability of the end, forgetfulness of the importance of the nature of the means.

It is of interest, in view of present controversies, to observe Cardinal Manning's attitude on the subject of elementary education. As Rector of Lavington and Archdeacon of Chichester he worked hard for the maintenance and improvement of Church schools. In 1849, when he was still an Anglican, he played an important part in the struggles which

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took place in the councils of the National Society. Archdeacon Denison has described how, on the occasion of his moving a resolution at a critical moment protesting against the 'management clauses' which the Government of the day was endeavouring to impose as a condition of State assistance, his

'two most active opponents among the Bishops—my brother, Bishop of Salisbury, and Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford—as their last resource put up Manning . . . to move an amendment. I have called the amendment . . . "unmeaning and worthless"; I had better have said "ruinous." From that hour I date the ruin of "Church Education" in England at the hands of Churchmen.'¹

The history of this incident is told with some detail in the *Life*, and a letter from Archdeacon Denison to Mr. Purcell, written in 1889, is quoted, in which the former says:

'I have never ceased to regard that day as the beginning of the surrender of the Church School into the hands of the Civil Power. It is impossible for me now so long afterwards to call it anything else, and the recollections cannot be otherwise than very painful to me. What the Cardinal may regard the cause I contended for now to be, I have no concern with; all I know is that it was *first* by his hand that the Church School in England was destroyed' (i. 432).

The Cardinal's action at the time of the passing of the Education Act of 1870 is somewhat scantily treated, and there is an absence on this subject of the documents which on most matters supply the really valuable part of the book. But Mr. Purcell tells us that Manning in 1870 'assented to Mr. Forster's Education Bill,' 'surrendered the right, obtained in the days of the Vicars-Apostolic, of a Catholic Inspector of Schools,' and in 1871 'insisted' on the '40,000*l.* and more' which 'Lord Edward Howard had collected' 'for poor schools' 'being given to those schools only which had accepted the Government's terms, thus compelling hundreds of schools to come under a yoke which their managers hoped to escape.' Mr. Purcell adds that—

'in 1872 Archbishop Manning began to have misgivings as to the policy of acquiescing in the new system of National Education' (ii. 494);

and that he subsequently—

'made strenuous and successful efforts to counteract the evil effects of the School Board system. By immense exertions, and in the most self-sacrificing spirit, the Catholics of England were enabled to set

¹ Denison, *Notes of My Life*, pp. 169, 170. Since writing the above we have heard, with sincere regret, of the death of Archdeacon Denison.

up voluntary schools all over the country, and to maintain them in a high order of efficiency' (ii. 495).

It would appear, therefore, that as Manning in 1849 changed his policy from resistance to concession, so in the years which followed 1870 he changed it from concession to resistance.

The *Life* is a great deal more than the exhibition of most masterly powers in the paths of diplomacy and ecclesiastical statesmanship. It is delightful to read of the parish priest's love of his people at Lavington and of his energetic work in their behalf. His activity in a wider sphere in the diocese of Chichester and especially his services to the Diocesan Board were the anticipations of much that he was to do on a still larger scale in later years. His earnestness in social matters, his philanthropy, his advocacy of temperance, were such as to win the respect of many who could not agree with all his maxims or all his policy. There is room for serious doubt whether his knowledge of the matters involved in the dock strike of 1889 was as great as his desire to be a peacemaker, and whether his discretion in a still more painful agitation was equal to his indignation at the thought of cruelty and wrong. It has not always been clear that his attitude on social and political questions was unaffected by a determination to make current events serve his turn as an ecclesiastic. In his actions in many such matters there have been observed traces of the same tendency to think so much about the end naturally held in view by a Roman Catholic in England as to be too careless of the whole bearing of the policy adopted as the means which we have already pointed out as indicated in the documents printed in the *Life*. Yet, when adequate allowance has been made for such considerations, dedication to high aims is, after all, the most marked feature of his character.

The volumes contain much that is instructive. It is well to know of Cardinal Manning's opinion that—

'the success of the Revolution in Italy was in no small degree due to laxity of morals in the clergy, seculars and regulars, and to defective education and religious training in the schools' (i. 387);

that—

'there is only a plank between the Jesuits and Presbyterianism. . . . They are Papal by their vow, but in their spirit they are less Papal than anti-Episcopal. The claim of special dependence on the Pope breeds everywhere a spirit of independence of local authority. This is a grave danger to them, and few of them escape it' (i. 511);

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that the proposition of Gury 'sacerdos dignitate major, perfectione religiosus'—

'is erroneous and offensive to pious ears, and injurious to our Divine Master and to the Holy Ghost' (ii. 764);

and that the Society of Jesus was the ninth of 'nine hindrances' 'to the spread of Catholicism' 'in England' (ii. 774).¹

The whole of the long document, extending over twenty-three pages, which is printed under the title of 'Hindrances to the spread of the Catholic Church in England,' is worthy of the careful study of Anglican clergy, and, *mutatis mutandis*, is capable of teaching many of them useful lessons. Not the least valuable part of it is the following passage:

'We do not sufficiently ascertain before we begin to teach what those who hear us already believe. In truth, teaching is like a game of dominoes. If the hearers put down three, we must meet it with a three, but for this we must know their intellectual holdings . . . So long as we appeal to these truths as they exist in the minds of the English people they will respond to us, and we shall thereby gain their ear and their confidence . . . Having once laid this foundation, all other truths which flow from these "waters that are above the firmament" will be seen to be consequences, inevitable, true, and safe: as, for instance, the Incarnation once believed, two things follow, or radiate like two beams of light: (1) the Real and Substantial Presence, and (2) the dignity and glory of our Blessed Mother. St. Paul and the Unknown God at Athens precisely shows what I mean. Our work is to build up, and to build upon the foundation. But the foundation consists of the eternal and sovereign Truths which are still taken for granted.

'We have lost the people of England. They have lost the Faith, and as a dead body generates all manner of corruption, the loss of Faith has brought on all manner of immoralities. Half of the population nearly is gathered into towns and cities. London alone has in its streets four millions, of whom half are without God in the world. From Wesley to "General" Booth the non-Catholics are working among them. Is the Catholic Church to do nothing? Certainly our first work is *ad intra* on our own people, and grievously we need

¹ Although, as we have previously mentioned, the Jesuits succeeded in inducing Mr. Purcell to suppress the 'autobiographical note, written by Cardinal Manning in 1890, on the corporate action of the Society of Jesus in England and in Rome' (Preface, p. vii), their satisfaction at their success must be somewhat tempered with chagrin at what he has nevertheless managed to print. We may be allowed to express a feeling of surprise that the author of the *Life*, which has elicited the comments and criticism to which it is unnecessary to refer at length in this place, should have been led to omit the note in question by the consideration that the publication of it 'might give pain to persons still living, or provoke controversy at home or abroad' (*ibid.*)

it. But are we to do nothing *ad extra*? What can we do, a million and a half among twenty-six millions? I believe we could do much. But it must be by a simpler and more self-sacrificing way of work. The Catholic Church has adequate means to its internal ends. The priesthood and the nuns can deal with the needs of the Church *ad intra*. Its missionaries, priests, and nuns are adequate in quality, not in quantity, to its work *ad extra*. But London is a mission; and we need both priests and nuns for the English people out of unity. I have said before that we ought to play at dominoes with the English people. Where is the good of preaching on the Immaculate Conception to people who do not believe in the Incarnation? or on the Church to those who do not believe in Christianity? Surely a procession through the streets would do better to sing or say the Litany of the Holy Name than the Litany of Loretto. Give the English people what they can understand, and they will listen, and listen gravely. Is it not better, as St. Paul says, "to speak five words with my understanding, that I may instruct others also, than ten thousand words in a tongue" (1 Cor. xiv. 19)? So, again, to sing English hymns through the streets rather than to say the rosary. Hymns are intelligible to all. The rosary is to non-Catholics, not only unintelligible, but by its perpetual repetition a stumbling-block. We need open-air preaching, and instructions given anywhere and everywhere in secular places—not in our churches. . . . The work of the Salvation Army, with all its faults, is too real to be any longer disregarded and ascribed to the devil. We are bound not to be outdone in self-sacrifice and in love of souls.

'At a meeting in the United States it is said "that the mention of Jesus Christ was received with applause, and the mention of the Church with hisses." This is a terrible sentence. A doom of death to the human element of the Christian Church, but it showed a belief and love for Christ Himself. So long as this survives we can appeal to it' (ii. 790-1).

It may be questioned whether principles such as these were always acted upon by Cardinal Manning himself. To have paid greater attention to them might perhaps have saved him from some difficulties and enabled him to seize opportunities which he failed to use. To mention two matters only, the wisdom which the passage we have quoted shows might, if it had been allowed to influence his policy, have prevented the waste of materials ready to hand in his failure to make anything like an adequate use of the services of some men of ability who seceded from our own Church to Rome, and might have caused him to present the claims of his own adopted Communion in a light better calculated to attract English minds. It can hardly be doubted that there are many English people for whom Romanism is not without attractions who would be much more likely to be influenced by such a view of the Papacy as has been found

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The work contains numerous documents of interest besides those which were written by the Cardinal and others to which we have hitherto referred. From among them we may single out for special notice two valuable letters : one from Mr. Gladstone, on the spiritual rules laid down in a sermon preached by Manning when Archdeacon of Chichester (i. 436-8); the other from Dean Church, on the famous 'fifth of November Sermon' of 1843 (i. 696-9).

It remains to consider what light this *Life* throws on Manning's secession from the English Church. In one point it may be compared with the *Apologia pro vita sua* of Cardinal Newman. That work exhibited in the most striking manner the marvellous genius of its writer. It presented strong reasons for believing that the grounds upon which his sincerity had been doubted were altogether insufficient. But it also removed the polemical advantage to the Church of Rome of being able to point to Newman as a man of the greatest intellectual powers who had been constrained by conviction to leave the English Church. For it showed that, with all his wonderful genius, his mind was of such a type as to make the fact that he held any particular belief no argument at all in favour of the truth of that belief, and that his judgment was lacking in the strong balance which alone affords a trustworthy guide. In something the same way, though for different reasons, this *Life of Cardinal Manning* is calculated to destroy the possibility of any controversial use being rightly made of the fact of his secession. From first to last his case against the Church of England was based upon *a priori* grounds. He had in his mind an ideal of what the Church should be, and he quarrelled with the part of the Church in which Providence had placed him because it did not correspond with that ideal. He does not seem to have asked himself the question, What happened to the Church at the many times during which a reality corresponding to his ideal could nowhere be found? The wholly idealistic picture in which he painted the glories of the English Church in his Charge of 1841 might have been regarded as a prophecy of the disaster that would come when he awoke from his dream. We are not afraid to acknowledge that the Church of England contains many anomalies and has many faults. We are not afraid to acknowledge that we could, if we should so wish, proceed to describe an ideal condition to which she does not correspond. There has never been a part of the Church

which has been without anomalies and without faults. There has never been a condition of the Church which corresponded to a paper scheme. The Christian faith—yes, and the Catholic Church—can afford to look facts in the face. And the facts of Church history mean that such *a priori* ideas of the Church's unity and the Church's method of teaching and the Church's sanctity as deluded Archdeacon Manning will not bear to be brought into the light of day. We forbear to write at length on the awful pain he must have suffered in the endless controversies and bitter squabbles among Roman Catholics of which his life was full after his secession; but we may take this most marked feature of his history as pointing the moral that not even the Church of Rome has as yet attained to that faultless beauty which at the end of his Anglican days he seemed to claim as a note of the Church. When he argued that the Church of God must be infallible, and that the Church of England certainly is not infallible, and therefore the Church of England is not the Church of God, he must have forgotten what any competent theologian with a knowledge of Church history would have told him about the relation of temporary decisions and local beliefs to the Church's infallibility. When he argued that the condition of the Church of England in connexion with the State was inconsistent with her being the Church of God, he must have ignored the extraordinary conditions under which in many centuries the life of the Catholic Church survived.

The two instances we have mentioned last are typical of his whole mind at the time of his secession. The Church which he demanded was not the Church that is revealed in Holy Scripture or the Church that may be seen in history, but an *a priori* creation of his own brain.

We should be false to our deepest convictions if we should minimize the differences between Cardinal Manning's position and our own. The true doctrine of the Church is bound up with the teaching of our Divine Lord and His Apostles. The theory that the Papacy is either the necessary channel of jurisdiction or the necessary centre of unity, in our firm belief, violates that doctrine. We should be false to our duty if we did not point out that the frame of mind in which Cardinal Manning left the Church of England would not logically lead to the acceptance of any part of the Church at all.

But we do not wish to end our review with controversy, and would direct our readers' attention, in conclusion, rather to the most pleasing feature in the Cardinal's life, his care for souls under his charge. There are many beautiful touches of

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it when he was Rector of Lavington. It was a sustaining force all through his days. The story of one of the most powerful minds of this century quietly ministering to an old deaf shepherd, which his own pen wrote down, is a good illustration of an important side of the nobleness which, whatever his faults, was the characteristic of his life to the end :

'In December 1844 Mrs. Long, wife of an old shepherd living in Graffham, came to me and said that her husband had taken to his bed, and that his deafness, always great, was so much worse that they could hardly make him hear. I gave her a print of the Good Shepherd, and said, "Give him this book from me." She said, "He can't read." I said, "I knew that, but give it to him from me."

'I went that afternoon and found the print on his bed. I took it up ; he reached out after it and said, "That's mine." I said, "Do you know what it is ?" He said, "Yes, yes—the lost sheep—that's me." I put my hand round my head to signify the crown of thorns. He said, "Yes, the crown of thorns," and turned his head over on the pillow and sobbed.

'Some days after he said to me, "I hope I shall just walk in ;" that is, to the fold. Another day he took it up, and pointing to the crown of thorns said, "That's what cuts me most of all," and turned over and sobbed.

'I went to him in the January following to administer the Holy Sacrament. As I gave him the paten I saw something on his neck or throat. At last I saw it was the print. After the Holy Sacrament I asked his wife when he had asked for it. She said "As soon as it was light." I took it up and he said, "I haves it most days." He then said, "I hope He will have me like that"—the sheep on His shoulders. I said, "He has you like that. 'Him that cometh unto Me I will in no wise cast out.' He does not wait for the lost sheep to come to Him, but He goes out to seek till He finds it." He said, "No, no, He don't wait for he to come to He, but He goes after he ; and I hope I shall not give Him much trouble." Long had been a shepherd on the South Downs all his life ; and had had trouble enough in seeking the sheep that wandered and were lost. He then took up the print and said, "I shall be glad to see that Man." That night he died' (i. 291-2).

ART. II.—ANGLICAN ORDERS.

PART II.

To the list of books prefixed to Part I. add the following :

Histoire de la Conception du Sacrifice de la Messe. Par J. VACANT. (Paris, 1894.)
De la Validité des Ordinations Anglicanes. Par A. BOUDINHON. (Paris, 1895.)

WE now come to the all important question of the Rite. Is 'The Form of consecrating of an Archbishop or Bishop' in Edward's Ordinal a valid rite? The stress of the modern argument lies here. This M. Boudinhon¹ acknowledges in his second 'study' on Anglican Orders, which he has recently republished from the *Canoniste Contemporain*. So Father S. Smith again: 'The one ground for absolutely rejecting Anglican Orders is because the Anglican form is not the form of the Church, but a downright and intentional corruption of the form of the Church in an heretical sense'² He goes on to say that there are further reasons which render the rite suspect, viz. that it is a new 'form of man's devising.' The charges against the rite, then, apart from its intention—with which we have already dealt—practically amount to these three: it is a new rite; a newly arranged rite; and a new kind of rite.

To vary the rite at all is said to be inadmissible; for any variation is enough to raise a doubt, and we are reminded that the suspicion of a doubt is enough to preclude a 'Catholic' from recognizing the validity, as the opposite to valid is, not invalid, but precarious. The 'Church' was well aware that there has been all along, as there still is, great theological uncertainty as to the essential 'form' and 'matter.' With a wise prudence, therefore, Rome has maintained, and in the impending examination, will, according to M. Boudinhon,³ still maintain her traditional reserve. Since the days of Paul IV. and Pole, she has simply rejected Anglican Orders as not conferred according to the *Forma Ritualis* or Roman Pontifical, which, for the Churches of the West at any rate, is the only 'safe' standard. But alterations have been made by local Churches in their rites of ordination without laying their orders open to question. 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum'

¹ Cf. *De la Validité*, p. 17.

² *Reasons* &c. p. 145.

³ *De la Validité*, p. 11.

found its way to general adoption, not by any authoritative decree from Rome, but by the action of this or that local bishop, *e.g.* Durandus. No English Pontifical but that of Exeter, contained it; and that, though the tide of fashion set in so rapidly towards its general adoption that 'Omnes prope scholastici qui de materia et forma episcopatus disputant illius formam in his verbis constituunt.'¹ And if it be answered that this is no precedent for alterations by way of omission, we reply that it is a complete answer to the present question at issue, which is, Can local Churches vary their rites at all on their own authority? And, further, this was no unimportant variation. It was one which, though it did not affect the arrangement of the rite, completely upset its centre of gravity; for, whereas in former times the essentials were the imposition of hands and the consecratory prayer ('Deus honorum omnium'), with the later Schoolmen what is still the 'communis sententia' began to be established, viz. that 'Accipe,' &c., was the 'form.' It is absurd, then, to say that the Roman Pontifical is the only 'safe' standard, or that we are limited to that one line of liturgical development. Ordinals are many and various; and however venerable this or that feature, or even the whole rite, may be, this does not of itself preclude the possibility of a new rite being equally valid. But is the change, in the Anglican rite, so great after all? Our rite is new in being in English, in the omission of certain mediæval accretions, in the actual wording of many parts. But

'it is not new in general structure and drift; it retains the ancient features and many of the mediæval additions—and in particular the act of consecration consists of the imposition of the hands of the consecrating bishops, with the words "Receive the Holy Ghost," as in the Pontifical, and this is preceded by a prayer all the petitions of which are derived from the corresponding Latin prayer.'²

'La prière "Almighty God," pour l'épiscopat,' says M. Boudinhon, 'semble bien renfermer tous les éléments requis, et par suite, l'Episcopat ainsi conféré, à ne considérer que le rite, peut bien être regardé comme valide.'³ But supposing the change in phraseology were greater than it is, our opponents, in allowing that the principle of the change was to fall back on Scriptural language, have practically deprived their plea as to the risk involved in ritual innovation as such of all serious force. 'Receive the Holy Ghost' and 'Whose sins ye

¹ Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* ii. 273 n.

² Brightman, *What Objections* &c. p. 16.

³ *De la Validité*, p. 57.

remit' were 'inserted as supplementary forms somewhere about the thirteenth century,'¹ just as the *Porrectio Instrumentorum* had appeared some three centuries before. But why did Cranmer retain the first two and eventually delete the other, when all three alike were but modern additions? Simply because two were Scriptural and the third not. Father S. Smith tries to turn the force of this fact by setting up the traditions of the Church against the plain words of Scripture, and charging Cranmer with rashness in deserting the one to adopt the other as his new 'form' of consecration. Neither Cranmer nor any other Anglican is under the necessity of holding that 'because our Lord on one occasion addressed His Apostles with these words, He thereby enjoined them to employ the same words ever after in imparting Holy Orders.'² But surely no Papist even could deny that, for giving effect to His will in the bestowal of Orders, we are as safe within the terms which He or His Apostles used, as within the phraseology of a rite venerable indeed, but so vague that its essentials are still matter of controversy. We Anglicans might venture to think we are safer. Our bishops are consecrated by a combination of words which our Lord used over His Apostles, and St. Paul of the bishop Timothy. This latter observation, apart from the Preface to the Ordinal, and the close contiguity of 'Take the Holy Ghost' with the prayer 'Almighty God,' whose language now quite satisfies M. Boudinhon, is a sufficient answer to the Dutch and others who contend that for the valid bestowal of any sacrament 'la claire indication de la grâce ou pouvoir que communie chaque sacrement particulier' is necessary.³ Apart from their whole context, the prayer and the formula together completely specify the purpose of the Imposition. What risk is there here? What amount of change is even noticeable? Daniele Barbaro, Venetian Ambassador in London, 1548-1551, and a bishop, writes, as any candid and sensible person would:

'In 1549-50 by royal authority another book was published and confirmed in Parliament containing the form of conferring Holy Orders, nor do they differ from those of the Roman Catholic religion, save that in England they take an oath to renounce the doctrine and authority of the pope.'⁴

But the sequence of the rite underwent, it is said, a fatal change. The prayer 'Almighty God' is 'removed from its

¹ Smith, *Reasons*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.* p. 33.

³ *Opvolging*, p. 85.

⁴ Cf. Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI. and the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 274. The oath is only to renounce the pope's jurisdiction, not 'doctrine.'

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ancient place as the accompaniment and determinant of the imposition of hands, and converted into a mere introductory supplication; for it must be observed that the imposition of hands goes no longer with this prayer as it did previously, but . . . with "Take the Holy Ghost"¹ This is a new mare's nest. The essentials of ordination are suitable prayer and the imposition of hands. For over a thousand years the act of ordination consisted of nothing else, as is still the case in the Orthodox Eastern Church. But then 'Accipe,' &c., with imposition of the hands of the bishops, found its way into the Western Ordinals; and the chief consecrator merely recited the very ancient 'Deus honorum omnium' with his hands outstretched before him over the elect. Attention was thus directed to the later but contactual, instead of the much older but then, at any rate, non-contactual, imposition. It became the received opinion that 'Accipe' with the first or actual imposition was the 'form' and 'matter' of consecration. But this opinion was open to doubt, and even the Council of Trent dared not remove the doubt by defining the 'form.'² Liturgical studies have now brought Roman *scholars* round to the conviction that the prayer 'Deus honorum omnium' belongs to the form, *i.e.* is an essential part, though may be not, as once, the whole, of it. The imposition of hands is held to be 'morally continued' during the prayer. It is from this point of view that the sequence of our rite is challenged. That prayer, which was at first, and is now becoming increasingly recognized as, the 'form,' instead of accompanying the imposition, only leads up to it in the Anglican rite; and so is nothing but a mere preliminary. But the objection is worthless. When SS. Peter and John were confirming in Samaria, they prayed first and laid their hands on afterwards;³ and the same order appears at the 'separation' of Barnabas and Saul: 'Then, when they had fasted and prayed and laid their hands on them, they sent them away'⁴ In the Exeter Pontifical the theory of a 'moral continuation' breaks down, because there, not till after the actual imposition with 'Accipe,' &c., has been followed by 'Veni Creator,' does the principal consecrator say the prayer of consecration; and that not 'extensis' but '*junctis manibus*.' Surely it is far less risky to keep to the Scriptural sequence than to depend upon the 'moral continuation' of a physical act which in that case at any rate is clearly over!⁵

¹ Smith, *Reasons* &c. p. 26.

² Cf. Estcourt, pp. 4-9.

³ Acts viii. 15-17.

⁴ Acts xiii. 3.

⁵ Brightman, p. 22 and ref.; and Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* ii. 273 n.

But again the character of the rite is questioned. We have already glanced at the worth of the objection that it is not sacramental, but only administrative; that it bestows no grace, but only appoints to an office. There remains the further offence that the points in which the Ordinal departs from the Pontifical form for the consecration of a bishop are just those in which the old rite asserted with special distinctness the conveyance of a sacerdotal gift.¹ Thus in the litany, 'Ut hunc præsentem Electum bene + dicere et sancti + ficare et conse + crare digneris,' disappears. So do the description of him as 'is qui ad Episcopatus ordinem eligitur'; the enumeration of episcopal functions, 'Episcopum oportet iudicare, interpretari, consecrare, ordinare, offerre, baptizare et confirmare'; and the expression of the prayer immediately after 'Accipe,' &c., 'cornu gratiæ sacerdotalis.' A prayer in the course of the Unctions and Investitures of the Sarum Pontifical beginning 'Pater sancte' is also alleged as containing the requisite kind of expressions, but, as it has no place in any English Pontifical before the tenth century, and has never been part of the Roman, it may be set aside. In fact the rites and ceremonies of unction and investiture are all alike but late and decorative additions. And while to Father S. Smith the 'Deus honorum omnium' is 'full of sacerdotalism' (p. 71), Canon Moyes² does not mark it with a cross as one of those 'passages which most manifestly express sacrificial power'; and M. Boudinhon, who, after collating 'consecratory prayers in use in Catholic liturgies,'³ can find no special form of words common to all, except possibly 'ministerium ecclesiæ' or 'ministerium altaris' in the ordering of deacons,⁴ concludes that 'les formules d'ordination, pour être valables, doivent sans doute contenir une mention générique de l'ordre à conférer, mais il n'est pas nécessaire qu'elles énoncent explicitement l'un quelconque des pouvoirs propres à cet ordre, puisque, de fait, les anciennes formules romaines les omettent complètement.'⁵ On examination, then, arguments based on the necessity of mentioning sacrificial or other powers, such as those of the Jesuits, Father Tournebize⁶ and Father S. Smith, or of the Dutch, disappear. 'Episcopatus ordo' is as vague as 'ministerium altaris.' Though 'offerre' had very early a specifically Eucharistic reference, e.g. at Arles, cc. 15, 19,⁷ there is nothing to connect it with the Sacrifice of the Mass or the

¹ Cf. Smith, *Reasons* &c. pp. 70, 71.

² *Tablet*, Apr. 27.

³ *De la Validité*, pp. 26-45.

⁴ *Etudes*, 15 Avril 1895, p. 574.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 50.

⁷ Hefele, *Councils*, i. 193, 195.

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exercise of sacerdotal powers in the sense of modern Roman theology ; nothing to limit words of such wide application as 'benedicere,' 'sanctificare,' 'consecrare,' to the bestowal of the technical 'character' acquired in Orders. As for the sacrificial power, usually, 'the bishop,' as Dr. Friedrich remarks, 'already possesses this power as priest, and at his consecration receives nothing more with regard to offering sacrifice.'¹ But if it be a consecration *per saltum*, then, as M. Boudinhon observes, 'La consécration épiscopale... donnait... au diacre élu évêque la totalité des pouvoirs sacerdotaux';² and this, according to Gasparri (n. 24), is the truer view. 'Cornu gratiæ sacerdotialis,' therefore, has to carry all the weight of the plea for a strict conveyance of sacrificial power to the newly consecrated bishop by itself; and as the same expression becomes in the Sarum ordering of priests 'cornu gratiæ spiritualis,' it is scarcely equal to the load. Whatever Father S. Smith may see in the language of the 'Deus honorum omnium'³ amounts to no more than the use of 'summi sacerdotii ministerium' to describe the episcopal office, a word in that very prayer applied to the 'sacerdotium anterius' of Aaron's house; and it cannot be held, therefore, that in the days when this consecratory canon first appeared the word 'sacerdotium' meant just what it means to Jesuits now. M. Boudinhon is quite of this opinion: 'Où je partage pleinement l'avis de cet auteur [Dr. Friedrich] c'est quand il ne peut se résoudre à trouver la mention du pouvoir sacrificateur dans les paroles "cornu gratiæ sacerdotialis"; et qu'il remarque que les autres paroles sont tout aussi vagues, celles de l'ordination presbytérale comme celles de la consécration épiscopale.'⁴ Accordingly he suggests the following as a form containing the minimum for validity, as if the consecratory prayers in use in Catholic liturgies really required no more: 'Deus qui... respice propitius super hunc famulum tuum, quem ad diaconatum (*respective* presbyteratum, *vel* episcopatum *seu* summum sacerdotium) vocare dignatus es; da ei gratiam tuam, ut munera hujus ordinis digne et utiliter adimplere valeat.'⁵

To sum up, on this question of what is a valid rite for the consecration of a bishop, not only can no specific theory of the sacerdotal powers be now demanded, nor even any separate mention of the powers belonging to the Order, but the whole

¹ *Revue Internationale*, p. 15.

² *Revue Catholique de Revues*, 20 Août 1895, p. 284.

³ Cf. *Reasons*, p. 58.

⁴ *Revue Catholique de Revues*, p. 284.

⁵ *De la Validité*, p. 50.

discussion is unnecessary. Gasparri summarily cuts away the ground from under all the foregoing attacks: 'Jam vero inter omnes hos ritus quos Pontificale Romanum præscribit in episcopali consecratione, communis sententia est materiam esse impositionem manuum episcopi consecrantis (potius episcoporum consecrantium) et formam esse relativa verba "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum"' (No. 1109), or the prefatory prayer or both (No. 988 *sqq.*). The Anglican rite by this test is perfectly sound, and M. Boudinhon now admits it to be so.

There remains the objection, not applicable to Parker, who was ordained priest under the Latin Pontifical, but to the bishops who came after him, that they were never priests, and so not competent subjects for consecration to the episcopate. And the reason alleged for this lack of the episcopate is that both in her form for the Ordination of Priests and in the Office of Holy Communion the Anglican Church ignores the sacrifice of the altar, while in her Articles she expressly denies it. She does not claim to have any sacrificing priests, and therefore she has none.

To make what our Church has got turn entirely on what she has claimed will not do. The question is one, not of claim, but of fact. Again, it is one, not of the part, but of the whole—not whether Anglican priests claim to sacrifice the Body and Blood of Christ, but whether they have had power given them to consecrate the Eucharist. If the possessions of a Church were to be measured by her claims, and her endowments by her explicit doctrines, then the Roman Church had no transubstantiation till 1215, and the Popes no infallibility till 1870. And if the sacerdotal character be so distinctive a mark of the Christian ministry that no true ministry can be constituted without express mention of it, then neither in the apostolic nor in the sub-apostolic age, nor for some centuries later, can there have existed such a thing as the Christian ministry at all. We are not now denying a 'sacerdotium,' but simply exposing the unreasonableness of the demand for a special mention of it. When Cardinal Newman allowed himself to say, 'Surely it is too awful a gift to be transmitted in silence,' he condemned the New Testament, or rather is condemned by it.

But our possession of the 'sacerdotium' is denied, as well as our claim to it, by M. Dalbus in a roundabout plea,¹ by the Jesuit Father Tournabize,² and the Dutch Pastors,³ in a direct negative. Their arguments, however, will not stand,

¹ *Ordinations*, pp. 31-37.

² *Etudes*, 15 Avril 1895.

³ *Opvolging*, p. 91.

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for, as M. Boudinhon observes, they are based on the supposition 'que toutes les formules d'ordination catholiques mentionnent dans les prières consécratoires, tant pour l'évêque que pour le prêtre, le pouvoir d'offrir le sacrifice.'¹ But were this basis never so secure, the arguments built upon it would be beside the mark.

For, first, Ordination is to an order or office, not to this or that function belonging to it; so that, though it might conceivably be common (which it is not), yet it could not be necessary, to specify in detail all its functions, still less to single out one. In the earliest forms of Ordination, whether Eastern or Western, there are only vague references to sacrifice, and none specially to the Holy Eucharist. What Bellarmine says about intention is applicable again to specification: 'It is not required that the purpose for which the sacrament was instituted be intended' as well as the action itself. "What the Church does" means, not the end and purpose of the action, but the action itself.'² Both officiant and rite—the one in what he intends, the other in what it specifies—stand on the same footing, and are concerned simply with the action and nothing else.

Secondly, except on the theory that the episcopate is merely an extension of the presbyterate—not a distinct order, but simply a degree within an order—the plea that Anglican priests lack the 'sacerdotium' has no bearing on the Anglican succession whatever. On that theory a consecration to the episcopate is valid only if the subject be already a presbyter. But Mgr. Gasparri³ points out that this is mainly a theory upheld by canonists and theologians, that there is freedom of opinion about it within the Roman Church, and that it is commonly rejected as untenable on historical grounds. The general opinion now is that consecration to the episcopate confers the entirety of ministerial powers. If there be any doubt between this theory and its rival, history must decide between them; and history must take into account ordinations *per saltum* recognized as valid. Supposing, then, through default of her Ordinal, or by such a denial of the 'sacerdotium' as amounts to heresy, the Anglican Church has no true priests, it would not follow that she has no bishops.

Thirdly, heresy itself is no bar to the enjoyment of valid sacraments. This is a theological commonplace. But we challenge Roman controversialists to find any positive error

¹ *Revue Catholique des Revues*, 20 Août 1895, p. 283.

² *De Sac. in gen.* i. 27.

³ *Tract. de Ord.* nn. 22-26.

in the Ordinal or Communion Office. 'Neuter,' in *La Correspondance Catholique* (23 Mai 1895), confesses :

'Il me semble que sur ce point, la présomption est en faveur de la thèse anglicane. Il n'y a pas d'hérésies positivement énoncées dans l'Ordinal ; tout ce qu'on peut reprocher à ses auteurs est d'en avoir écarté toutes les expressions qui supposent un véritable sacerdoce sacrificateur et un véritable sacrifice eucharistique. Mais c'est là chose plutôt négative ; l'Ordinal n'en devient pas positivement hérétique.'

But of course the charge that we Anglicans have no true priesthood, though it does not touch the validity of our succession, is one that cannot be passed by. It does bear on the reality of the sacramental grace we enjoy. It does come home directly to the religious interests of the English people. So we proceed to deal with it, though it has been dragged into a controversy with which really it has nothing to do.

The Anglican rite for the Ordination of Priests does not convey explicitly the power to sacrifice the Body and Blood of Christ, and so, it is urged, does not bestow the 'sacerdotium.' But the function of sacrifice is not specified in forms acknowledged to be valid. A glance at the old Roman rite¹ is enough to show that Father S. Smith has but a very meagre notion of 'what is popularly called sacerdotalism'² if he professes to find it in the form there given for the ordination of priests. You go with him expecting to find something really alarming, and there is nothing to greet you but a poor thin ghost—simply words like 'sacerdos,' which the Anglican Church also uses, applied equally to the Aaronic priesthood and to the Christian ; a comparison between the seventy elders who assisted Moses and those whom the bishop is making 'co-operatores nostri ordinis,' as the Apostles, too, had their 'doctores fidei' ; and a prayer that God will grant them 'presbyterii dignitatem.' Afterwards, in another 'benedictio,' it is asked that 'gravitate actuum et censura vivendi probent se esse seniores.' In short, there is here nothing more than reminds us on the one hand of the parallel between the Aaronic and the Christian ministry in St. Clement,³ and on the other of the language of our own rite.⁴ In the Greek rites, whether the ancient rite of the Apostolic Constitutions (viii. 16), or in the modern, 'to stand blamelessly

¹ *Gelasian Sacr.* ed. Wilson, p. 23.

² *Reasons* &c. pp. 58, 59.

³ *Ad Cor.* i. 43.

⁴ Cf. the Collect 'Almighty God, giver,' &c., and 'Almighty God, and,' &c.

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at thine altar' and 'to offer gifts and spiritual sacrifices,'¹ there is no sacrificial expression strong enough for what is required, none that goes far beyond the language of the English Prayer Book. Neither in St. Thomas's articles on Order,² nor in the corresponding definitions of the Holy Eastern Church,³ is there any explicit allusion to sacrifice. And when we come to examine the 'De Ordinatione Presbyteri' in the Pontifical, analysis not only eliminates from the specific functions of the priesthood enumerated all mention of the peculiar sacrificial power now demanded, but reduces the descriptive phraseology of the rite to nothing more than is contained in such a summary expression as 'onus presbyteratus.' On this point Dr. Friedrich⁴ successfully but unconsciously develops the criticism of a former writer in this Review (April 1880). Thus the new priests are called 'ordinati' immediately after the 'Accipe potestatem offerre' and the 'Porrectio,' and long before the 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum.' Hence the third imposition of hands which accompanies 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum' is not the 'matter.' The Porrectio itself and its formula were unknown for the first thousand years of Christian history, and may likewise be dismissed. This sends us to look for the characteristic expressions in the earlier part of the service, and particularly for the 'form' in 'Deus honorum omnium,' as is now generally agreed. The 'Admonitio Presbyterorum' of the Pontifical of Paul III. then describes 'missam celebrare' as a sacrament, but not as offering a sacrifice. The archdeacon now in his address to the bishop asks for the candidates only 'onus presbyteratus.' The bishop in his address to the people speaks vaguely of 'regimen altaris.' Turning to the candidates for the priesthood, he goes on 'Sacerdotem oportet offerre, benedicere,' &c., and speaks of them as 'mortis Dominicæ mysterium celebrantes.' When the stole and chasuble have been delivered, we have 'ministerii tui donum' and 'panem et vinum in corpus et sanguinem Filii tui immaculata benedictione transformat.' This is all. Not a word about sacrificing the Body and Blood of Christ in these accessories any more than in the 'form' itself. And if anyone should think that 'offerre, benedicere' must convey that power, the last sentence quoted makes it clear that 'benedicere' is used of consecration, and

¹ *Euchologion*, Venice, 1869, p. 165.

² *Summa*, iii. Suppl. qu. 34 sqq.

³ Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, pp. 185-89).

⁴ *Revue Internationale*, pp. 14-19.

so 'offerre,' placed as it is here before 'benedicere,' must be taken simply of 'offering the gifts' or placing the unconsecrated elements on the altar in view of consecration. To this analysis there is but one desperate reply. The formulary acts 'in modum unius': no orders are practically to be regarded as safe unless in their bestowal all is said that stands in the Roman Pontifical; for, as no one knows what is essential, there remains a doubt if you omit anything. Did the Apostles make use of the Roman Pontifical? Until a man is sure that they did, how is he to satisfy himself that even their ordinations were beyond a doubt?

But we shall be told that this is trifling; that it is to overlook an important distinction. It is one thing to be satisfied with continuing to use a rite of ordination which may not explicitly convey the power to offer sacrifice, but quite another to revert to one of this type when for some five hundred years a ritual formula and accompanying ceremonies had not only become part of the rite, but had been eventually defined by authority, directly to connote that power. We refer here to M. Dalbus's contention,¹ but can scarcely take him seriously. While admitting that the 'Accipe potestatem' and 'Porrectio' is in itself unessential, he holds that the omission of it, after it had once been accepted by the Western Church as the proper 'form' and 'matter,' invalidates Anglican Orders. This is the old accusation, dispelled by Morinus, and now reproduced in a new dress. The removal of the 'Porrectio,' &c., is now said to be an index of a change of doctrinal intention. But first, the connexion of the ceremony with the idea of sacrifice in particular as distinguished from celebration of the Eucharist in general, is not necessary. St. Thomas, who treats it as the 'matter' of ordination, connects it, not with sacrifice, but with consecration.² Next, it is by no means clear that it was removed from our rite on any such ground as is alleged. The presentation of the empty vessels had long been in use for some orders below the priesthood. Fra Angelico represents St. Stephen being ordained deacon and receiving the chalice and paten from St. Peter. Why should the presentation of the vessels even with the elements mean more than power to minister about the altar? In the first Ordinal of Edward VI., while the mention of sacrifice was suppressed, and 'to minister the holy sacraments' substituted in the accompanying formula, the delivery of 'the chalice or cup with the bread' was retained. The natural conclusion is that the ceremony was abolished for the same reason that

¹ *Ordinations*, pp. 31-36.

² *Summa*, iii. Suppl. 37, § 5.

other rites of equally modern institution, such as 'Accipe Spiritum Sanctum,' were retained—viz. to bring the essentials of the formulary into close accordance with Scripture. It is only by disallowing the appeal from a traditional usage of the Church to the language of Holy Scripture that the seriousness of the omission can be maintained at all. But we again affirm that we are as safe, if not safer, within the circumference of our Lord's own words as within the usages of the Roman rite. This charge that we have suppressed the 'Porrectio' or 'matter,' and the charge just dealt with that we have played fast and loose with the 'form' or 'forms' of the rite, are simply charges, not of any deficiency in essentials, but of failing to conform to Roman regulations. In short, the point to be proved is here assumed, that the Roman standard is supreme. Would it not be much simpler for our opponents to take that objection to our Ordinal as all-inclusive and all-decisive?

But the anti-sacrificial animus of the Anglican Church is held to be unmistakeable because of the new meaning she has read into the word 'Priest.' At any rate, she has not abandoned it; but if she had, the question is not one of words but of things, and it would still have to be proved, for a successful repudiation of the claim of her clergy to offer sacrifice, that they never received the power to consecrate the Eucharist. We are tired of hearing with monotonous iteration from Papist and Puritan alike that our 'priest' is only old 'presbyter' writ small, and from the Puritan that the term *ιερεύς* or *sacerdos* is never applied to the Christian ministry in the New Testament. If a Papist were pressed with this fact, he would reply that the priesthood and the altar depend on the sacrifice, the sacrifice on the Real Presence, and both on the content of our Lord's words of institution, 'Take eat, this is my body,' and 'Do this in remembrance of me.' An Anglican is entitled to the same plea. He professes to take Scripture in no other sense than as it has been ever taken by the Church. But he may also and must go on to point out what the Bishop of Salisbury has clearly established,¹ that 'priest' is the uniform equivalent in all English translations since Tyndale's (save that of Rheims) for *sacerdos* or *ιερεύς*; and that when the word appears in the Prayer Book it means the same. In other words, translators and revisers took it as they found it. They all made use of it, not, like pedants, in its etymological sense, but, like practical men, in the sense in which it was commonly used at

¹ *Responsio*, pp. 13, 14.

their day. They intended what it meant—a sacrificing priest ; and they had no difficulty in continuing to make use of it,¹ because, of course, it could not pledge them to any one theory of the sacrifice.

But what of the Liturgy ? When Parker was consecrated on December 17, 1559, though the Ordinal used was, with one important exception, that of 1552, the liturgy in which it was embedded was most probably that of 1559, which had been ordered to be taken into regular use 'from and after the feaste of the Natiuitie of saint John Baptist' in the summer of that year. This rite did not ignore the Real Presence as did that which it superseded. But the sequence of parts and the language of 1552, both of which had been then adopted to shut out the sacrificial ideas for which Gardiner found support in the Mass of 1549, remained unchanged. This might be serious were it not that the English Church, as we have seen, repudiates the interpretation of her formularies by any but herself or except in reference, not to the opinions of the reformers, but to the ancient and Catholic standards of belief. She is committed to no more than the documents as they stand. Take the Communion Office and the Roman Mass as they stand, compare the two rites, being careful to import nothing into them from outside, and what is the result ? 'In the Anglican Liturgy the idea of the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of the Lord is entirely excluded,' say the Dutch pastors.² 'This is true enough,' answers Dr. Friedrich, 'but it is the same in the Catholic Liturgy.'³ Let anyone examine the Mass, and without reference to M. Duchesne's *Origines du Culte Chrétien* (c. vi.) or to the trenchant survey of it, in answer to this particular charge, which appeared in a former number of this Review (April 1880), and he will see for himself that not a sentence can be squeezed out of it to imply that a sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ is offered on the altar by the priest. Thus all the expressions which signify a sacrifice (such as 'Suscipe, Sancte Pater . . . hanc immaculatam hostiam'—'Offerimus tibi, Domine, calicem salutaris'—'Veni, Sanctificator . . . et benedic hoc sacrificium'—'Suscipe, Sancta Trinitas, hanc oblationem'—'Orate, fratres, ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium'—and, within the Canon itself, 'uti accepta habeas et benedicas hæc tua dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata'—'hoc sacrificium laudis'—'Hanc igitur oblationem, &c.'), all refer to the as yet uncon-

¹ Cf., for instance, Cardwell's *Synodalia*, ii. 590, in a document of Archbishop Bancroft : 'ordine sacerdotali seu presbyterali.'

² *Opvolging*, p. 85.

³ *Revue Internationale*, p. 9.

secrated elements, as is clear from the 'Quam oblationem . . . ut nobis Corpus et Sanguis fiat dilectissimi Filii Tui D. N. I. C.' This prayer is commonly taken by liturgical scholars in conjunction with 'Supra quæ' and 'Supplices.' The two latter M. Duchesne treats as one prayer, the equivalent of the Greek ἐπίκλησις; but, as he observes, 'Cette prière est loin d'avoir la précision des formules grecques où l'on spécifie expressément la grâce demandée, c'est-à-dire l'intervention du Saint Esprit pour opérer la transformation du pain et du vin au corps et au sang de J. C.' But, if so, 'Supra quæ' and 'Supplices' do not gain in precision from association with 'Quam oblationem.' The whole forms but a deficient Invocation, because it asks, certainly like the Anglican Prayer of Consecration, that God will intervene in the mystery, but only that the elements may be transformed to the recipients, and not, as the normal Oriental Invocation has it, in themselves. There is nothing, therefore, in the Mass to indicate the objective nature of the Presence but the words of institution, as much as, but no more than, is found in the Anglican office. By preserving the Eastern sequence of Invocation following upon Institution, the Roman Mass apparently regards the consecration as still incomplete till both are recited. Consequently it cannot be maintained that 'Hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam, panem sanctum vitæ æternæ et calicem salutis perpetuæ' mean more than the unconsecrated elements. The language used here in the Great Oblation is exactly parallel to that employed, *e.g.*, in the Offertory before. We are not now urging that, according to the Roman rite, there is no sacrifice in the Eucharist or that the Roman Church denies it; but only that, if the Mass and the Communion Office be taken by themselves and put side by side, the former, though its mention of sacrifice is clearer and more plentiful, as little suggests the notion that the priest sacrifices the Body and Blood of Christ on the altar as the latter. If it be further argued that the changed sequence of the Anglican Liturgy has completely deprived it of any claim to convey what the ancient liturgies, Roman or other, meant in the way of sacrifice, it may be replied at once that an equally serious dislocation has taken place between the office and the theory of the Mass, and that nowhere is it so difficult to make sense of a document, taken either by itself or in relation to the traditional theory of it, as of the Canon of the Mass. What, for instance, does 'hæc' refer to in the 'Supplices'? Grammatically, to the oblations of the 'Unde et memores' and the 'Supra quæ,' the Bread of Life and the

Cup of Salvation. Bona, in defiance of grammar, refers 'hæc' to the vows, faith, and prayers of the faithful¹—an explanation only a shade better than the other line of interpretation which appears first with Florus (ix. cent.)—viz. that 'hæc verba mysterii [Supplices, &c.] tam profunda tam mira et stupenda quis comprehendere sufficiat?'² Bona must make some such shift. For the language of this prayer and of the Mass generally is incompatible with that particular theory of the sacrifice which our critics are accustomed to read into it, and so condemn our Liturgy as ignoring—viz. that the priest is offering the Body and Blood of Christ really and substantially present on the altar *below*. What is the meaning then of praying 'Jube hæc [sc. the Oblations] perferri per manus sancti Angeli tui in sublime altare tuum'? Or again, on the same supposition that Christ is then and there on the altar as the propitiatory sacrifice, what a painfully inadequate prayer is that which puts that sacrifice of His on a level with its Old Testament types ('Supra quæ,' &c.); or that other which, as it stands, applies to the priest's offering of his God language meant originally to refer to created things such as the fruits of the earth ('Per Quem hæc omnia,' &c.). The Mass itself protests against a doctrine of which our opponents require mention in explicit terms from us. No Papist can afford to criticize the Communion Office of 1552-9 for lack of a type of teaching about the Sacrifice which the Mass itself repudiates.

The Communion Office, however, does not stand alone. That may only ignore or obscure the Sacrifice of the Eucharist. Article XXXI., it is said, directly denies it. The Article is primarily concerned with the 'Unica Christi oblatione in cruce perfecta.' This is carefully elaborated in the first clause: 'Oblatio Christi semel facta perfecta est redemptio propitiatio et satisfactio pro omnibus peccatis totius mundi, tam originalibus quam actualibus; neque præter illam unicam est ulla alia pro peccatis expiatio.' This, as Dr. Friedrich observes,³ is a perfectly correct and Catholic article of faith. So whatever false opinion about the Eucharist it rejects, is rejected only so far as it is inconsistent with this leading declaration. The 'Unde' which introduces the next clause makes this perfectly clear. Secondly, what is thus remotely aimed at is something that fell short at the time of authoritative doctrine, as is clear from 'vulgo dicebatur.' Thirdly, the offence is connected with 'Missarum sacrificia quibus vulgo dicebatur Sacerdotem

¹ *De Reb. Lit.* ii. c. 13.

² Florus, *Expositio Missæ*, § 98.

³ *Revue Internationale*, p. 10.

offerre Christum in remissionem pœnæ et culpæ pro vivis et defunctis,' and these were denounced in 1552 as 'figmenta et perniciosæ imposturæ,' and in 1563 as 'blasphema figmenta,' &c. Now, the system of private Masses, which had only been put down by the Chantries Act of 1547 (1 Ed. VI. c. 14), represents the final outcome of the doctrines denounced in the Article five years later. Its language apparently covers more. No stress can be laid on the plural 'Missarum' for 'Missæ' in 'Missarum sacrificia'; for the plural 'Missæ' is anciently used of one Mass because of its two dismissals—*e.g.* by Bede (*H. E.* ii. 5). 'Missarum sacrificia' must be taken as the equivalent of 'Missæ sacrificia'? But why the plural 'sacrificia'? and why 'sacrifices of Masses' in the English? May not these plurals point to the iteration of sacrifices professing, each after each, to be an actual and virtually independent propitiation? While, therefore, the language of the Article seems to condemn an error which was as incidental to the public as to the private Masses, its history would suggest that this protest arose in connexion with the private Masses, the latest, the most popular, and the most emphatic embodiment of that view of the Mass as propitiatory which is what really conflicts with the principle laid down in the first clause of the Article. Most of the private Masses, too, were, as the Act calls them, 'Masses Satisfactory,' resting upon 'errors in Christian Religion brought into the minds and estimations of men by reason of the ignorance of their very true and perfect salvation through the death of Jesus Christ.' So, for the original of the Article as it stood in 1552, we must go back, ultimately to the Augsburg Confession, but immediately to the Thirteen Articles of 1538 and a draft Article 'de Missa Privata' which Cranmer could not get accepted, along with the Thirteen agreed to by the German and English divines assembled in London in 1538.¹ Cranmer is here deprecating the unprimitive character of the Church services of the day. Lessons and prayers are in an unknown tongue, and belong only to the clergy. Sermons there are practically none. 'Eucharistia a solo sumitur sacerdote, qui illam in turpissimum quæstum pro vivis et defunctis applicat.' That the Mass was a communion was practically forgotten. It had come to be treated simply as a sacrifice to be done by the priest for oneself or others, and even as a thing to be bought and sold in their interest:

'Damnanda est igitur impia illa opinio sentientium usum sacramenti cultum esse a sacerdotibus applicandum pro aliis, vivis et de-

¹ Cf. Jenkyns' *Cranmer's Remains*, iv. 292.

functis, et mereri illis vitam æternam et remissionem culpæ et poenæ idque ex opere operato. . . . Non possunt [sc. beneficia] autem aliis quam sacramenta sumentibus per sumentes applicari. . . . Qua re una animadversa ac perpensa facile apparebit privatarum Missarum applicationes et nundinationes non amplius esse ferendas.¹

The Eucharist is a

'recordatio mortis Christi . . . quam et sacrificium nonnulli orthodoxi patres nominaverunt, quod videlicet in memoriam illius unici et semel peracti sacrificii fiat, non quod ipsum opus sit sacrificium applicabile vivis et mortuis in remissionem peccatorum. Id quod papisticum dumtaxat est figmentum; et quoniam ab hac tam impia opinione et quæstu inde proveniente Missæ privatæ, illæque pro magna parte satisfactoriæ, in tantam multitudinem excreverunt quarum nec mentionem nec exemplum ullum apud antiquiores invenimus, satisfactorias quidem prorsus abolendas, cæteras vero privatas vel in totum abrogandas vel certe minuendas et reprimendas judicamus.'

These principles were exactly those which, in the next reign, the Archbishop lived to see carried out. The Chantry Act put down Private Masses. The Act for Communion in Both Kinds (1 Ed. VI. c. 1), and the 'Questions and Answers Concerning the Mass' of January 1548, introduced the liturgical reform which changed the Mass into the Communion, but kept, in our present consecration prayer, just that theory of the Sacrifice as a 'perpetual memory,'¹ which the Archbishop seems to have held in 1538. Cranmer and others may have been betrayed into excessive denunciations of the Mass, but the lines on which it was officially dealt with are clear throughout; and Article XXXI. defends the attack when successfully accomplished in the same terms as those in which it was described when first meditated fourteen years before.

But this language really goes back to the Augsburg Confession of 1530:

'Accessit opinio, quæ auxit privatas missas in infinitum, videlicet quod Christus sua passione satisfecerit pro peccato originis, et instituerit missam in qua fieret oblatio pro quotidianis delictis, mortalibus et venialibus. Hinc manavit publica opinio quod missa sit opus delens peccata vivorum et mortuorum ex opere operato. Hinc cœptum est disputari utrum una missa, dicta pro pluribus, tantum valeat quantum singulæ pro singulis. Hæc disputatio peperit istam infinitam multitudinem missarum.'²

¹ For 'memory' = 'commemoration,' cf. *As You Like It*, act ii. scene 2:

'O my sweet master! O you memory
Of old Sir Rowland!'

² *Sylloge Confessionum*, p. 139.

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Here, however, we find traces of another popular error which came in to 'increase' and multiply private masses, beside the 'opus operatum' doctrine, which is what Cranmer denounces as at the bottom of the system he is criticizing. Anglicans have been challenged to produce the evidence for the prevalence of these doctrines, and to show that they were of sufficient magnitude to be made the object of attack in Article XXXI. The system of private Masses was universal, and one would have thought that that fact alone would be sufficient proof of the widespread acceptance of the errors that lay behind it. Latimer¹ is authority enough for the doctrine of 'a daily oblation propitiatory' being common in England. Or take Gardiner: 'For when men add unto the Mass an opinion of satisfaction or of a new redemption, then do they put it to another use than it was ordained for.' This was in 1548,² to show that chantries were rightly dissolved. On the Continent Luther is witness: 'Cur jam aperte concionentur pro peccatis post Baptismum commissis Christum non satisfecisse sed tantum pro culpa originali.'³ But it has also been ascribed to theologians of repute, in particular to Ambrosius Catharinus, an eminent doctor at Trent (1546-1552); and it is found in a series of sermons 'De S. Eucharistiæ Sacramento,' printed both in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas and his master, Albertus Magnus. Vasquez, a Spanish theologian (1551-1604), attributes to Catharinus the doctrine that for sins committed before baptism and for original sin, men must look to the Bloody Sacrifice on the Cross, but for sins committed after baptism to the Unbloody Sacrifice of the Mass, which is therefore daily repeated and iterated.⁴ Canon Moyes, however,⁵ succeeds in showing that Catharinus has been misrepresented, and Bishop Wordsworth can scarcely believe that the treatise *De Veritate*, &c., was known in England before the publication of Article XXXI.⁶ Canon Moyes, again, has no difficulty in redeeming the credit of Albertus Magnus. He points out that, 'far from making out the Mass as an independent expiation, Albert teaches that the oblation on the Cross and that on the altar are one and the same sacrifice.' But, while successfully redeeming the credit of eminent theologians, Canon Moyes has failed to show that this doctrine had not become a common popular

¹ *Sermons*, pp. 72, 73 P.S.

² Cf. Dixon, iii. 264.

³ *Conciones*, ad 16 Joann.

⁴ Cf. Vasquez, *In III. Partem S. Thomæ*, qu. 83, Opp. tom. vii. p. 479, Antwerp, 1620-1, where Vasquez refers to the 'De Veritate incruenti Sacrificii' of Catharinus).

⁵ *Tablet*, May 11, 18, 25, 1895.

⁶ Cf. *Responsio*, p. 23.

error of some standing by the middle of the sixteenth century. On the contrary, we have evidence that it had thoroughly well established itself. Dr. Vacant¹ has recently shown, on independent grounds, that these thirty-two sermons on the Eucharist, attributed to Albert, must have been written, or at least re-edited, in the fifteenth century, and do not belong either to Albert or to St. Thomas. He goes on to draw particular attention to the fact

‘que le premier discours contient une erreur théologique considérable, savoir que Jésus-Christ s’est offert sur la croix pour le péché originel et qu’il s’offre à la messe pour les péchés actuels, erreur absolument opposée à la doctrine d’Albert le Grand mais attribuée plus tard à Catharin par Vasquez.’

Dr. Vacant agrees with Canon Moyes that neither Albert nor any Catholic theologian could have held such a doctrine. He differs in believing that the error was actually taught. How widely it was taught is evident from the allusions both in German and English writings already quoted. That it was an error all admit. That it would tend to further increase of private Masses is obvious. That it was aimed at, along with them, in Article XXXI. we cannot doubt. Why else should the article insist that our Lord on the Cross made satisfaction for all sins ‘tam originalibus quam actualibus,’ when this had already been asserted in Article II.? Clearly the desire was to condemn the error just where it had taken deepest root, viz. in connexion with the use that the Mass was then put to.

But have we equal testimony to the prevalence of the other doctrine that the Mass is an ‘opus delens peccata vivorum et mortuorum ex opere operato’? The evidence of unfriendly critics of the reigning system is plentiful enough to establish a *prima facie* charge of this sort; but it is also supported by a reference which Vasquez makes to Albertus Pighius (1490–1542), one of the papal theologians at the conferences of Worms and Ratisbon. Vasquez says:

‘Duplicem esse effectum hujus sacrificii, sicut etiam sacramentorum, ex opere operato; alterum, qui semper hoc aut illo modo dispositis confertur; alterum, qui non semper communicatur. . . . Certum quoque esse debet apud Catholicos, virtute hujus sacrificii peccata etiam mortalia nobis remitti. . . . tametsi de modo, quo illa remittuntur, inter Theologos aliqua hoc tempore controversia suborta fuerit. In qua Recentiores nonnulli aperte docuerunt, per sacramentum Eucharistiæ quatenus est sacrificium Patri oblatum non solum veniale sed etiam mortale peccatum eorum pro quibus offertur, juxta ipsorum

¹ *Histoire de la Conception du Sacrifice de la Messe*, p. 40, n. 3, Paris, 1894.

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dispositionem ex opere operato, sicut per sacramentum poenitentiae deleri; nempe ita ut ad hunc effectum in eo pro quo offertur sola attritio sufficiat et virtute sacrificii, sicut sacramenti, absque alio affectu voluntatis gratia remissionis peccatorum semper proxime conferatur.¹

He gives as his authorities St. Thomas, Gabriel Biel, and Pighius. Vasquez is evidently quoting Biel, who gives the passage from St. Thomas and the reference.² Biel's words are

'Inprimis sacramentum eucharistiae, velut sacrificium summo Patri oblatum, nedum veniale sed et mortale [peccatum], non dico summentium sed omnium eorum pro quibus offertur, et quantum ad reatum culpae et poenae plus vel minus secundum dispositionem eorum pro quibus offertur, tollit.'

What amount of disposition is necessary is clear from the passage then quoted from St. Thomas:

'[Eucharistia] in quantum est sacrificium habet effectum etiam in aliis, pro quibus offertur, in quibus non praerogit vitam spiritualem in actu sed in potentia tantum. Et ideo si eos dispositos inveniat, eis gratiam obtinet virtute illius sacrificii a quo omnis gratia in nos influxit, et per consequens peccata mortalia in eis delet, non sicut causa proxima sed in quantum gratiam contritionis eis impetrat.'

Then Biel fortifies himself again:

'Nec contra illud est quod Augustinus ad Renatum (Lib. de Origine Animae, c. ix.) dicit: "Quis offerat corpus Christi nisi pro his qui sunt membra Christi?"'—

and concludes almost in the words of St. Thomas:

'Intelligitur enim pro membris Christi offerri quando offertur pro aliquibus ut sint membra Christi. Sic etiam, in quantum est sacrificium, accipit rationem satisfactionis; et secundum hoc in parte vel in toto poenam tollit, sicut et aliae satisfactiones, secundum mensuram poenae debitae pro peccatis et devotionis qua sacramentum offertur ac virtutis sacrificii his pro quibus offertur ab offerente applicatur. Et ita non semper virtute hujus sacrificii tota poena tollitur, et ideo officium illud offertur pro vivis et defunctis.'³

Here Vasquez is clearly right. One use of the Mass is according to his authorities, that the priest should apply it for the benefit of those whose spiritual life rises no higher than to the level of 'attritio.' What it does for them is to

¹ In III. Partem S. Thomae, disp. 228, tom. iii. p. 593, ed. Ant. 1614.

² 'B. Thos. in 4 Scrip. di. 12, q. 2 ar. 2.'

³ Gabriel Biel, *In Canonem Missae*, Lectura 85, litera L.; and S. Thomae Opera, tom. xii. p. 290 (Venetiis, 1749).

procure for them the grace of 'contritio,' and that 'ex opere operato.' It is also a 'sacrificium' in the sense of a 'satisfactio.' Now for Pighius. Living as he did, not when the Scholastic system reigned undisturbed as in the time of Biel (died 1495), but when controversy had already taught its defenders moderation, he is very careful to define what is meant by 'ex opere operato.' He is defending his side against the two imputations contained in 'Article III., Of Abuses,' in the Augsburg Confession. The one we have already mentioned, viz. that Christ only satisfied by His passion for original sin, and instituted the Mass for daily sins, he repudiates with some warmth: 'Nunquam audiui, nunquam legi a quopiam proferri opinionem ejusmodi priusquam eorum confessionem legerem.' Nevertheless, it was taught, as Dr. Vacant shows. Pighius, as a Scholastic, was probably less able to judge of the effect of academic teaching on the outside world than men like Luther, Latimer, and others who were busy reforming it. Clearly, this doctrine was an exaggeration of one which he himself develops with great subtilty and maintains with singular tenacity. He explains that his side 'Opus operatum intelligunt ipsum opus aut rem ipsam in se.' A little pressure on 'in se' would easily give rise to the notion that the Mass is a sacrifice independent of that on the Cross, and propitiatory 'per se.' But Pighius is alive to this, and disowns it. He complains that the Confession misrepresents Catholics,

'ac si diceremus ipsum mereri de se peccatorum remissionem justificationem ac cætera ejusmodi. Non hoc dicimus nec intelligimus: sed hoc intelligimus valere ad aliquid ex opere operato quod eo valet et proficit ex ipsa aut operis aut rei in se virtute ac efficacia, quam nonnunquam habet ex sua ipsius natura ac essentia, nonnunquam ex beneplacito alicujus a quo velut efficax signum ad hoc ipsum institutum est.'¹

This is unexceptionable. He guards himself against asserting that the Mass is efficacious apart from our Lord's self-oblation. But he does defend the position ascribed to him by Vasquez, that the Mass is efficacious, even when the offerer only brings to it the sort of repentance produced by fear without love ('attritio'):

'Sed hoc dicimus, oblationem pro illis sacrificii valere iisdem ex virtute et dignitate ipsius in se sacrificii acceptissimi Deo, et non tantum ex bono motu cordis offerentis atque ejus devotione ac merito.'¹

Here then we have Biel teaching that the Mass may be applied

¹ *Controv. Ratispon. de Missæ Sacrificio* (Colonæ, 1545), v.

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as a sacrifice or 'satisfactio,' and that successfully, without making more demand of the beneficiary than 'attritio'; and Pighius defending its efficacy 'per se' as apart from the devotion of the offerer. To say the least, these were 'dangerous deceits'—quite enough to lead to the popular errors denounced in 1530, 1538, and 1552, that the Mass was a work which, being done by the priest, merited remission of sins, 'idque ex opere operato,' because of the actual performance and apart from any good intention of the doer: that if applied, as in most of the private Masses, on behalf of the dead, it was 'satisfactory': that is, procured of its own intrinsic value remission of the pains of purgatory; that this was what was meant when the Mass was commonly said to be a sacrifice; that it mattered not what sort of men offered this sacrifice, which was available without any good motion of the user; that it created a presumption that one Mass said for many was of less value than several said for several.¹ The Mass was made a quantitative thing. In becoming applicable, multiplicable, assignable, and even marketable, each Mass got in the popular idea a value of its own. The practical outcome of the system of private Masses was to intensify the belief that Christ's once perfected oblation had to be iterated and supplemented:

'Quapropter alia conquirunt sacrificia quibus perpurari possint, et ad hanc rem missas exhibent in quibus sacrificium Deo Patri credunt oblatum esse . . . quibus etiam regnum tam latum dant ut illis aliquando minui, nonnunquam omnino tolli, purgatorii tormenta statuant.'²

Judged by its history, that the aim of Art. XXXI. was primarily directed against the system of private Masses we cannot doubt; but, on the other hand, that its denunciation is even more comprehensive and touched the doctrine of the Mass itself, we are ready to believe. There was a close connexion between the doctrine of the Mass and the system of private Masses. It was felt at the time. To Lutheran protests against the private Masses it was replied, 'Hoc de omni missa asserunt, non de privata dumtaxat.'³ And at Trent the doctrine of the Mass was so drawn up as to cover with its ægis the ideas on which that system rested:

'The popular belief of later times exaggerated the Eucharistic Sacrifice,' says Professor Mozley, 'till it became to all intents and purposes a real one, and "the priest offered up Christ on the altar for quick and dead to have remission of pain and guilt"; that is to say, offered Him up as a Victim in a sense which could not be distin-

¹ Cf. Dixon, iii. 524 n.

² Ref. Leg. De Hæres. c. 10.

³ Pocock, Burnet, iv. 380.

guished from that in which He was offered up by Himself on the cross. It is true that the decree of the Council of Trent (Sess. xxii. c. 2) just saves itself by cautious, not to say dissembling, language from the extreme and monstrous conclusion that the sacrifice of the Mass is the very same with that on the cross . . . but at the same time it asserts that the sacrifice of the Mass is a really *propitiatory sacrifice*, "*vere propitiatorium*." Now undoubtedly there are two distinct senses in which an act may be said to be propitiatory. There is an original propitiation and a borrowed propitiation. . . . Why, then, did the Fathers of Trent, when they had all human language at their command, deliberately choose to call the sacrifice of the Mass, "*vere propitiatorium*?" They may have said that it was "*vere propitiatorium*" in the secondary sense; but no one can fail to see the misleading effects of such language, and that nothing could have been easier to the Divines of Trent, had they chosen, than to draw a far more clear distinction than they did, between the sacrifice of the Mass and the sacrifice on the cross. It is evident that as ecclesiastical statesmen, they were afraid of interfering with the broad popular established view of the Mass, while as theologians, they just contrived to secure themselves from the responsibility of a monstrous dogmatic statement.¹

If this idea, that the Mass is a *real* sacrifice, which stood at the root of the system of private Masses, stands also at the root of the sacrifice of the Mass, it must be confessed that whether the framers of our Art. XXXI. meant it or not, their language conflicts with both alike.

But does this amount to a denial of the primitive doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice? No: nor yet of the mediæval. In the Roman Missal there is no such phrase to be found as 'the Sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ,' and nothing that without glossing can be made equal to it. As it lends no support to the theory of Transubstantiation, so it lends none to the doctrine that the Mass is a real or propitiatory as distinct from a commemorative or representative sacrifice. This may be taken as an example of the ancient liturgies in general. Further, 'it is remarkable how little attempt there is in the Middle Ages to formulate the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Eucharist, and how little theological interest is spent upon it.'² Peter Lombard states it thus:

'That which is offered and consecrated by the priest can be called a sacrifice and an oblation, because it is the memory and representation of the true sacrifice and the holy immolation made on the altar of the cross. And Christ died once on the cross and was there immolated in Himself, but day by day He is immolated in the sacrament because in the sacrament a remembrance is made of that which was done once.'³

¹ *Lectures*, p. 217.

² Brightman, *What Objections*, p. 57.

³ *Sent.* iv. dist. xii. § 7.

St. Thomas in the *Summa* (iii. 83, § 1) speaks to the same effect. But will anyone deny that the English Church has asserted as much? The first official formulation of the sacrifice of the Mass took shape at Trent in Session xxii. But this was the beginning and not the end of a long discussion. Dr. Vacant, in his sketch of it, picks out four typical theories, those of Hiquæus, Suarez, Lessius, and De Lugo, all theologians of the seventeenth century.¹ Since that age, he remarks, these theories have been discussed, but not added to. The object of all has been 'découvrir, dans la consécration, un changement qui pût être regardé comme un acte sacrificatoire.' As he passes them in review, Dr. Vacant silently refers them to the standard of 'l'enseignement traditionnel' in post-Tridentine theology, viz. 'l'idée d'anéantissement physique qu'on attache habituellement au mot de sacrifice.' The systems of Hiquæus, Suarez and Lessius, do not provide for a proper destruction of the victim. De Lugo, on the other hand, 'grâce en particulier à la magistrale exposition qu'en a faite Franzelin,' is so generally accepted, that his system is still the dominant one throughout the Roman Communion. 'Sacrifice,' however, is an equivocal word. It may mean the act of slaying the victim or of presenting the thing offered; of 'shedding' or of 'pouring out' the blood. It connotes an act always, but attention may be confined in one connexion to the destructive phase of the act, in another to the intercessory phase of it. In the controversies of the sixteenth century, both Papists and Protestants had exclusive regard to the destructive act of sacrifice. They spent all their resources of defence and attack upon the sacrifice of the Mass considered from this point of view, the only sense in which it appeared to them a real sacrifice; the one party urging that it was not, and the other that it was, as such, a reiteration of the sacrifice of the cross. It can hardly be denied, especially in the light of what has become 'l'enseignement traditionnel' since Trent, that the Protestants have so far made out their case as to show that the priest's offering of Christ in the Mass as it is destructive, so it is necessarily reiterative; and therefore the doctrine that the Mass is a 'verum proprium ac propitiatorium sacrificium' is one that must come into collision with the Epistle to the Hebrews in the end. This is clear from the tortuous efforts of Roman theologians to get a convenient theory of the sacrifice which shall be at once sufficiently destructive and sufficiently Scriptural. The reformers attacked a system of practical abuses at a point

¹ *Histoire* &c. p. 56.

where the influence of this misconception was most prominently displayed, viz. in the private Masses. But it cannot be doubted, as indeed we find Henry or his theologians replying to the Lutheran envoys of 1538,¹ that in attacking these 'Missarum sacrificia' they used language fatal to the doctrine of the Mass. It is possible that, in the heat and dust of conflict, Cranmer and others may even have been betrayed into an extremity of denial, very near to the Lutherans' assertion in 1538 that in the Eucharist is no sacrifice at all, but only a sacrament.² But in his official language at any rate, both in Art. XXXI. and elsewhere, Cranmer happily (may we not say, providentially?) kept clear of any such statement. Then no sooner was the storm over than Anglican theologians who have just as much right as Cranmer to be counted representative men of their Church began to maintain, and have since steadily upheld, a sacrifice in the Eucharist. In this they have been more successful than the Romanists, because they have been loyal

'to the great truth that the Eucharist Sacrifice, even in its highest aspect, must be put in one line (if we may so say), not with what Christ did once for all on the cross, but with what He is continually doing in heaven; that as present naturally in heaven and sacramentally in the Holy Eucharist, the Lamb of God exhibits Himself to the Father and pleads the Atonement as once finished in act but ever living in operation; that in neither case does He repeat it or add to it.'³

The Council of Trent, on the contrary, in common with most writers, Papist or Protestant, of the sixteenth century, make no reference to our Lord's heavenly priesthood. There are honourable exceptions: in particular the erratic Catharinus, and also Thomassinus later on.⁴ In the present century Franzelin denies it: 'Oblatio sacrificii Christi non est in cœlo: est tamen Christi apud Patrem interpellatio sacerdotalis'; and he adds that in the Eucharist 'Christus ut sacerdos princeps per suos ministros perpetuo sacrificat, et ut victima sacrificatur non in cœlo sed in nostris altaribus.'⁵ Perrone, however, writes: 'Utrumque vero sacerdotale munus [*sc. oblation and intercession*] quod his terris Christus inchoavit, in cœlis perfecit tum continua ac jugi sacrificii semel oblatis applicatione tum perpetua illa intercessione qua interpellat

¹ Cf. Pocock, *Burnet*, iv. 380.

² *Ibid.* iv. 364.

³ Bright, *Ancient Collects*, p. 144 n.

⁴ Cf. *De Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, tom. I. lib. x. c. xi. pp. 642-4; Venice, 1730.

⁵ *De Verbo Incarnato*, Thesis LI. pp. 534-47.

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pro nobis.'¹ But of His heavenly oblation as the basis on which, through the presence of the one Person of the Pleader both in heaven and in the sacrament, the Eucharistic sacrifice rests, there is strangely little consciousness in Roman theology since Trent. Nor are we to expect it while De Lugo and Franzelin hold the ground. Roman theology has been increasingly engaged in narrowing down the province of faith. It tends to represent the Church as an automaton, substituting a mechanical union with the Pope as Visible Head for that organic unity effected by the Spirit (Eph. iv. 3) in the Invisible Head, Jesus Christ. It walks by sight and not by faith. So with its doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice. De Lugo seriously discusses the question whether it could be offered if Christ were not attending, or were unconscious, or were even asleep at the side of the Father! He answers:

'Vere ergo nunc offert Christus quia sacerdos ex Christi institutione offert nomine Christi: quod sufficit ut hæc actio, *moraliter* loquendo, dicatur actio Christi, sicut reverentia quam Legatus Regius exhibet Pontifici est *moraliter* reverentia Regis erga Pontificem. Sic etiam Christus per sacerdotem quem sibi ut Legatum et ministrum *substituit*.'²

Obviously it is the doctrine of Christ's Person that is here at fault. The sacrifice of the Eucharist is morally only, and not personally, His act. He instituted the sacraments, and left them, like the Church, to go on in the hands of a substitute—a form of sacerdotalism which we can only describe as a sort of applied Deism. But from any such notion, the notion that the sacrifice of the Eucharist is an independent, or a destructive, and so a re-iterative or supplementary act, Article XXXI. has saved Anglican theology, simply by its condemnation of anything that tends to conflict with the uniqueness and perfectness of the sacrifice of the death of Christ. It has served to bring out a continuous stream of teaching in the Anglican Church³ upon the Commemorative and Representative Sacrifice, and so, far from denying, has effected a salutary return to the primitive and Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist.

After all, the objection to Anglican Orders on the score of the rite is the only criticism which deserves serious attention. To return, in summary, to the only theological point which occupied our attention in Part I. M. Boudinhon observes

¹ *Praelect. Theol.* vol. ii. col. 1129.

² *De Sacramento Eucharistiae*, Disp. xix. Sectio vii. § 93, ed. Lugduni, 1736. The italics are ours.

³ Cf. *Tracts for the Times*, No. 81.

that English Roman Catholics have dwelt too much on the question of Barlow's intention, which is really beside the mark. He quotes a letter of December 18, 1872, by the Congregation of the Holy Office which admits the validity of heretical baptism, even in a case where the minister declares to the catechumens that baptism has no spiritual effect, but is only the sign of admission into a sect—'quia non obstante errore quoad effectus baptismi, non excluditur intentio faciendi quod facit ecclesia'; and he uses it with great force against the conclusions of Cardinal Vaughan, in his now famous letter to the *Times* of October 2, 1894, based upon the warning addressed by an Anglican bishop to a candidate for priest's orders: 'Now mind this, sir; I am not going to ordain you to be a sacrificing priest!' 'On leur appliquerait sans hésiter les règles de la théologie relatives aux sacrements administrés par les hérétiques.'¹ The alleged errors of Anglicans on the priesthood and the sacrifice are quite beside the mark. So is the practice of the Roman Church. That rests, as we saw reason to believe in Part I., simply on Paul IV.'s prudent resolve to be on the 'safe' side, or else on the bad theology of Eugenius IV. as to the 'matter' and 'form.' The sufficiency of the Ordinal is the real issue. But we maintain that it comes up to the requirements of the Council of Trent, which says (Sess. xxiii. canon 7) that by ordination priests become 'legitimi verbi et sacramentorum ministri,' the exact equivalent of 'be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God and of His Holy Sacraments'; and, again (canon 4), that 'the Holy Ghost is given in ordination, and bishops do not say in vain "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum."'" In point of fact, this is said in the Roman rite to those who are already ordained, while in the Anglican rite the words accompany the laying on of hands. Canon 1, again, expressly mentions that the presbyterate includes the power 'peccata remittendi et retinendi.' This also belongs to the Anglican formula at imposition. Dr. Friedrich, after thus summarising the points of comparison, rightly observes that the English 'form' contains precisely, and even briefly, what in the Pontifical is not specified in the 'form,' but only appears here and there in the course of the ceremonies.² Once more, so far as the debated point as to what is the essential 'form' and 'matter' of ordination has been decided at all, both the consecratory canon and the 'Accipe' are, as we have seen, accepted 'forms'; while the Council, though it avoided direct definition, has by a side wind declared what it took for the 'matter.' The

¹ *De la Validité*, p. 64.

² *Revue Internationale*, p. 19.

ministers of unction must be either 'Episcopi aut sacerdotes ab ipsis rite ordinati per impositionem manuum presbyterii' (Sess. xiv. c. 3). And again, by stating that 'sacræ literæ . . . quæ maxime in . . . ordinatione attendenda sunt gravissimis verbis docent' (Sess. xxiii. c. 2), the Council, as Alphonsus Liguori notes,¹ necessarily regards the imposition of hands as the 'matter,' 'for [*sc.* in Scripture] we have nothing else assigned as the matter of the sacrament of orders than the imposition of hands.'

To conclude. Our only excuse for this long and energetic but, we hope, both fair and charitable vindication of our orders lies in the immensity of the religious interests at stake—grace for our own people and reunion for Christendom. We do not argue that because we have the succession ours must be part of the true Church; only that without it we cannot be within reach of all the covenanted grace. Nor do we expect that reunion would come at once as soon as Rome were to recognize our orders. But a great step would have been taken. Meanwhile, we believe in our orders, and are content to pray and to wait.

ART. III.—THE FRENCH PYRENEES.

Les Pyrénées Françaises. (a) Première Partie: Lourdes, Argelès, Cauterets, Luz, Saint-Sauveur, Barèges. (b) Deuxième Partie: Le Pays Basque et la Basse Navarre. (c) Troisième Partie: L'Adour, la Garonne et le Pays de Foix. Par PAUL PERRET. Illustrations par E. SADOUX. Three vols. (Paris, 1881-1884.)

WE wonder how many of our fellow-countrymen who escape from an English winter to Biarritz or to Pau, and who linger on in spring to visit a few well-known places like Cauterets, Luchon, or Les Eaux Bonnes, know anything about the inner life of the French Pyrenees. Yet their archaic villages, clustering in sequestered valleys or by foaming torrents; their quaint buildings, domestic and religious, to which we shall presently refer; their peasant people of different types and races, as well as the historic interest with which the whole district is associated, are all exceptionally attractive. It is the country where was chiefly passed the later life of Margaret of Navarre—her little Court at Nérac a sanctuary for per-

¹ *Theol. Moral.* vi. 5: De Ordine, p. 749.

secuted heretics, an elysium for men of letters ; where her daughter, Jeanne d'Albret, upheld the doctrines of the Reform with all the force and constancy of a far stronger character ; among whose rocks and crags Henri Quatre raced barefoot as a child ; whose mountains were crossed by the Black Prince in the fourteenth and by Wellington in the nineteenth century. It is a country strewn with cathedrals and monastic foundations, rich in memories of Albigenses, Templars, and Huguenots, and—like all mountainous districts—rife with legends and superstitions ; such a country is well worthy of an intimate acquaintance. Yet not only are these minor historic chronicles a sealed book to many, but the scenery of the Pyrenees, though in some respects equally attractive, is far less known than that of the Alps.

The work before us is intended to trace out these varying aspects of interest, to serve the traveller among the Pyrenees as 'his guide by day, and in the evening, the excursion over, as his amusement' ; while for those whom fate condemns to stay at home, only a slight effort of imagination is needed to transform its graphic pages into living scenes and pictures. To ourselves, it must be confessed, the author of *Les Pyrénées Françaises* has opened out a new world of pleasure and information, and we recognize with regret the impossibility, within the limits of our allotted space, of dwelling on more than a fragment here and there from these delightful volumes—further enriched by a thousand illustrations of mountain, hamlet, and château.

Unlike M. Perret, who carries his readers at once into the very heart of the French Pyrenees, we prefer to commence our rapid survey near their western extremity, with some account of the little Basque seaport, Saint-Jean-de-Luz. The Basques—with their quaint manners and customs, their distinctive dress, and their language, the *cruix* of philologists—demand an entirely separate study ; yet it seems impossible to pass them by unnoticed even in the briefest article upon those mountains at whose feet they have been planted since history began, and to which they cling with undying affection. The French Basques, far outnumbered by their Spanish brothers, are almost entirely confined to the three districts of Labourd, La Soule, and Basse Navarre. The capital of Labourd in former days was Ustaritz, Saint-Jean-de-Luz was its seaport ; now Ustaritz seems but a straggling village, Saint-Jean is nothing accounted of beside the modern glories of Biarritz.

For the palmy days of Saint-Jean-de-Luz we must go

back to 1560, when, after the Treaty of the Pyrenees, French courtiers and Spanish grandees assembled there to witness the marriage of Louis XIV. with Maria-Theresa of Spain. The house which received the Infanta before her marriage, a doorway in the church, ever since walled up, through which the royal bride and bridegroom passed, and a picturesque turreted building still called the 'Maison Louis Quatorze,' where their wedded life began, remain to keep alive the memory of this passing visit from the most brilliant Court in Europe. After all, the chief glory of Saint-Jean is its race of intrepid mariners, who from time immemorial have rejoiced to brave the Atlantic and that Bay of Biscay so full of perils that a Basque proverb tells us, 'the fisher's wife is wedded the morn and a widow at eventide.' Basque whalers, armed with the harpoons they claim as their own invention, reached the coasts of Newfoundland and Cape Breton before Sebastian Cabot; Basque corsairs from Saint-Jean-de-Luz and Hendaye swept the seas in time of war, and carried off many a prize from ships far stronger than their own.

The church of Saint-Jean-de-Luz may serve as a typical example of Basque architecture. A huge porch, supporting a square bell-tower roofed with tiles, is the most notable feature of the exterior; within is the invariable gallery in two stages surrounding the church on all sides save the east, and a wooden ceiling adorned with colours that would be somewhat glaring but for the dim religious light which sobers down their crudity. The male members of the congregation occupy these galleries during Mass, in righteous superiority over their women kneeling on the bare floor below with no further luxury than a square of black cloth, embroidered with a white cross, which they spread upon the pavement. The churches of La Soule have one distinguishing feature: their primitive bell-towers, which are nothing more than a fragment of wall rising above the roof, terminating in three gable-ends in which the bells, open to the air, swing to and fro with every wind that blows. Many of the village churchyards are gardens full of bloom and fragrance. The graves, round which irises, lilies, and roses, flower in succession, are marked, some by crosses of Saracen design, others by granite discs engraved with mysterious emblems, whose meaning is unknown even to the people themselves; survivals, probably, of a long forgotten faith far back in the history of this strange and ancient race. A foreigner will not fail to marvel at the sesquipedalian names—themselves almost cabalistic in sound—of those who rest beneath the tombs; the names of hamlets

and villages, too, ring strangely, reminding him that he is among a people radically distinct from the rest of their compatriots.

These villages, for the most part, are extremely interesting and speak of a happy and prosperous peasant life, picturesque in every detail. The houses are generally scattered here and there, proudly independent one of another; but it is worth while to examine more minutely these dwellings, which are one of the special features of the country. At the first glance a Basque house is somewhat disappointing compared with the Swiss chalets, which it distantly resembles, with their high-pitched roofs, and the rich, warm, chestnut hue of their upper stories. But this lack of mere artistic beauty is fully compensated by the individuality, the dignity, the almost human interest which appertains to it. Basque houses are usually white, with red-tiled roofs and brown shutters, while a network of timber painted in yellow, brown, or green, and occasionally a balcony, break the flat monotony of the walls. A huge, wide-open doorway in the middle of the façade gives entrance to a vaulted court used as the threshing floor, and dark as midnight, save where a stray beam steals through some chink in the rafters, while on either hand are the living rooms of the family. To the right is probably the kitchen of the *Etcheco-Yauna* and *Etcheco-Andrea* (house-master and house-mistress), to the left the demesne of the daughter-in-law and her children; for here, as in Switzerland, several generations dwell under one roof. The ancestral hearth, in pre-Christian days the centre of all religious worship, is still almost sacred to a Basque, inspiring sentiments even stronger than the Englishman's love of home. Indeed, the Basque dwelling, instead of taking its name from the owner, provides him with a sobriquet: he is Jean *d'Elicabide* (on the road to the church), Martin *d'Ithurralde* (beside the fountain). It may easily be imagined that homesteads so cherished, so revered, are never sold save in extremest necessity. Should such a calamity befall, the whole thought and aim of a Basque family (whether toiling on in their own land or emigrants in the Far West) is concentrated on buying back again one day the home where their forefathers have lived and died. That such hopes are sometimes realized may be gathered from the following and similar inscriptions occasionally to be met with:

'This house, named Gorritia, was bought back by Marie de Gorriti, mother of the late Jean Dolhagaray, with the moneys sent by him from the Indies, the which house may neither be sold nor hired. Made in the year 1662.'

In glancing at a few characteristics of Basque life, we must not forget the *Jeu de Paume*, a kind of herculean tennis, about which the peasants are so enthusiastic that a champion player is the darling and hero of all the countryside. Soldiers have even been known to desert in order to be present at one of the national galas when a great match is to be played. The following extract from a little book which seems to breathe the very spirit of the people will picture it better than any words of ours :

'In the centre of the burgh stand the courts for the *Jeu de Paume*. It is the national game; in it are summed up the Olympian, Pythian, Isthmian, Nemean games of the Basque people. The young men assemble there from all parts of the country, like Greek wrestlers train themselves for it from childhood. There, beneath the bright southern sun, stimulated by the applause of a whole people and the burning glances of the fair sex, Homeric matches are played between the different champions of the towns, between French and Spanish Basques. It is far more than a game of mere force and dexterity. It is a complete education: there the will learns to bend, the character gains fortitude, the muscles of the heart are developed. It is a noble game, full of dignity, the game of a free people inhaling with full vigour the keen air of the mountains; it is likewise the supreme moment of Basque beauty, that in which it expands like a flower in the full enjoyment of a youth which thinks itself to be immortal. Attitudes, gestures, movements, recall the designs and bas-reliefs of antique sculpture. Slender and agile are the players, of manly grace, robust of torso, but lithe and flexible in their strength—bare arms superbly moulded, winged feet, eyes sparkling with the fire of youth.'¹

Hard by Saint-Etienne-de-Baigorri, which boasts the most renowned courts for the *Jeu de Paume* in French territory, our attention is arrested by the hamlet of Michelena. A squalid, miserable spot compared with the prosperous Basque villages surrounding it, Michelena seems a fitting abode for the descendants of that mysterious, despised, and persecuted race, the *Cagots*. Among the Pyrenees and in legend-haunted Brittany alone do we still find traces of these unfortunates, on whom the double stigma of leprosy and heresy rested for centuries. The tradition, handed down from generation to generation, declared them to be the offspring of conquering Goths and later Saracen invaders; hence their name *Cagots* = *canes Gothi*. The smouldering hatred towards them flamed high during the crusades against Albigenses and Catharists: the *Cagots* were massacred in thousands. Thenceforward they were forced to wear a peculiar dress—a red *camisole* marked with some derisive emblem: the acquisition of land,

¹ Henry O'Shea, *La Maison Basque*, p. 8.

had it indeed been possible to them, was forbidden them, and even the privileges of religion were grudgingly accorded, as to an inferior creation. The threshold of God's temple they might not cross; and in exploring Pyrenean churches we occasionally light upon antique *bénitiers* reserved exclusively for sprinkling them with holy water, and low doorways or wickets where from a distance they might participate in the Church's solemn rites. Only one other Cagot village, Terranère, in the valley of Azun, was visited by M. Perret in his wanderings; but he speaks of Bozate, in the Spanish valley of the Bastan, as entirely peopled by these social pariahs, who, though no longer under any civil ban, are still regarded by their neighbours with scorn and cold suspicion.

Before finally taking leave of the Basque districts, we are sorely tempted to linger over the history of the haughty house of Gramont, whose favourite Château of Bidache, in the Pays de Labourd, shows traces, even in ruins, of its almost royal magnificence: but space forbids. The same cogent reason closes against us the gates of Orthez, Navarrenx, Sauveterre, and Oloron. Not one of these quaint little towns, half asleep behind their crumbling fortifications, but is worthy of a monograph on its individual share in the wars of religion. Navarrenx especially was the firmest stronghold of Protestantism in Béarn, and its successful resistance against Papal besiegers proved a turning-point when the affairs of Jeanne d'Albret seemed in their most critical condition.

The traveller who would penetrate further into the recesses of those mountains spread out so temptingly before his eyes from the celebrated terrace at Pau—who would visit Barèges, Saint-Sauveur, Cauterets, Bagnères, or Luchon—must pass through the town of Lourdes, which stands on the threshold of the higher Pyrenees, and which, if held in feudal days to be the key of the county of Bigorre, may now be regarded with equal justice as one of the strongholds of the Romish Church. It is a striking scene which is gradually unfolded as the train, winding amongst low rolling hills, enters the valley of the now famous grotto. To the old town, apparently for ever destined to the remote and obscure solitude from which it has so suddenly emerged, there is now added a huge struggling mass of pensions and auberges, thrown pell-mell together, and clustering on one side of the eminence that is crowned with the lofty basilica of Notre Dame de Lourdes. The church, standing out and aloof from the town, has been ingeniously planned to be the fitting terminus of the long processions which wend their way to its altars in the pilgrimage season.

The vast building, erected on the rock which overhangs and includes the grotto, is planted at the end of a wide open space, and consists of an upper and lower sanctuary. The lower forms a large gloomy crypt, supported on massive columns, amidst which are ranged confessionals, wherein the penitent may pour forth their sorrow and repentance into ears that are responsive to every European tongue, whilst numerous entablatures, recording thanksgivings, supplications, vows, make the stones to cry out from its walls. The platform of the upper church, raised high above the road, is reached by a double ascent, enclosed in balustrades, that has its apex before the great western door, and is well calculated to be the crowning point of a magnificent spectacle when thousands of pilgrims, gathered on the square before it and fringed by long processions of Latin guilds and fraternities, bow down before the golden monstrance upheld and flashing in the midday sun, or mingle their litanies at nightfall with those of the long lines of torch-bearers which illuminate the march to the evening offices. The interior of the upper church is literally ablaze with the offerings with which its walls are encrusted from floor to ceiling; banners representing every section of the Latin obedience in Europe and far away to the republics of the south-western hemisphere, and so rich in their embroidery that connoisseurs in needlework journey to Lourdes solely to study them; and ex-votos of every degree of variety and splendour, from the Pope's golden rose to the waxen image of some pilgrim's foot who has left his crutch behind; bridal ornaments, military epaulettes, costly jewels, stars and crosses, orders and hearts without number, so crowded together as to smother every inch of wall with an irregular diapered emblazonry. Hard by, at the foot of the rock, are the grotto and the invariable well, made hideous with scores of pendant crutches and the smoke of tapers of all sizes.

It would be a hopeless task to attempt within the limits of our paper to analyse the ingredients of a thing so complex as a modern pilgrimage to Lourdes. To one class of minds the appearance to Bernadotte of the Blessed Virgin, speaking such bad grammar as 'Je suis l'Immaculée Conception,' is the most ludicrous of all incredibilities; to another class, the simple undoubting credulity of the shepherd maiden—on whose personal integrity no suspicion is cast—is apparently a charming example of trustful faith in an unbelieving age. No doubt many cures have been wrought at Lourdes. The mingled excitement and expectation, wrought up to fever

pitch, afford on scientific grounds sufficient explanation of the healing of manifold forms of sickness which have their origin in obscure nervous disorder. Apart from such questions, there is much to sadden and revolt the reverent at Lourdes. The passing traveller will note the trumpery bazaars of pious rubbish, and the many squalid and diseased beggars, more intent on the alms of the stranger than on the healing powers of the Virgin, and further inquiry elicits some disturbing assertions. It is said that the working parish curé of Bernadotte's time died, ruined and broken-hearted, through his treatment by the Order which now 'runs' the whole concern. It is said that vices formerly unknown now mar the simplicity and purity which formerly prevailed at Lourdes. It is said that the alleged vision admits of the natural explanation that on one day in the year the sun, shining through a cleft in the rock, produces a blaze of light so strikingly resembling the nimbus familiar to Roman worshippers, that an untutored enthusiast might easily transfigure it into a figure of St. Marie or glorify it into an actual apparition of the Virgin Mother.

It is curious to note that the Pyrenees have always abounded in shrines of lesser fame, and M. Perret goes so far as to say that there is hardly a canton within their boundaries in which an apparition of the Madonna has not given rise to some more or less lasting pilgrimage. In the lovely valley of Ossau our Lady of Bielle has received the invocations of the shepherds for upwards of ten centuries; on their yearly descent from the mountain pastures they assemble to give thanks for her care of themselves and their flocks, offering a fleece and a few silver coins upon the altar. It seems not a little strange to learn that the heroic Jeanne d'Albret—she who in later years exclaimed that, 'Sooner than ever go to Mass, had she her kingdom and her son in her hand, she would cast them both into the depth of the sea'—the Queen of Navarre herself went in pilgrimage to a chapel of the Virgin formerly standing at the head of a bridge over the Gave at Pau, where expectant mothers were wont to breathe their orisons for a safe delivery. All Béarn told of the hymn she chanted in giving birth to the future Henri Quatre, beginning :

'Noustè damo deü cap deü poun,
Adytuz me à dà questo horo.'

'Our Lady of the Bridge, give me succour in this hour.'

Besides the pilgrims who gathered at their local shrines, the Pyrenees teemed in the middle ages with others on the

way to the tomb of St. James of Compostella. The faithful flocked in thousands for their souls' health or for bodily healing, bringing prosperity and riches to the Pyrenean towns near which they encamped. We cannot but think that no voluntary self-mortifications could be necessary to add to the merit of this 'pilgrim's progress.' The way would be rugged enough for the sternest pilgrim's feet; the sudden storms, when rain or hail lashed the wayfarer's struggling form, the chilly nights passed on the mountain's flank, might satisfy the desires of the most ascetic.

Returning to our starting-point after this digression, we are reminded that the Castle of Lourdes has a special interest for Englishmen, as the chief fortress in a chain of watch-towers built or adapted by the Black Prince during his rule in Aquitaine. These *attelays*, as they are called in provincial language—most necessary for the safety of Bigorre, with such neighbours as Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, and Gaston Phœbus, Count of Foix—commanded the different mountain valleys, and were in perfect communication one with another. The Château de Lourdes dominated the valleys of Saint-Sauveur and Argelès, and from thence signal-fires passed by the donjons of Gélos, Vidalos, and Vieuzac to Beaucens, which guarded the entrance to the gorges of Cauterets and Luz. The Château du Prince Noir, whose name betrays the tradition of its builder, the Castelnau d'Azun, and the fortress of Sainte-Marie, were further links in a chain of communications which in its day was a triumph of strategic art.

Another point utilized as an *attelaye* was the fortified church of Saint-Savin, a combination of military and religious architecture not uncommon throughout the Pyrenees, where even conventual life in the middle ages was not always placid. But by far the most interesting example of so curious a type is the church of the Knights Templars at Luz. This sanctuary, dating from the period of later Romanesque architecture, the zenith also of the Templars' power and arrogance, is a complete citadel. Proud and defiant like them, it stands, battlemented throughout and enclosed by fortified and loopholed walls—loopholes and battlements alike as useless now as the collection of rusty flintlocks, sixteenth-century arms, old swords, stirrups, and lance-heads stored up in the covered gallery of the northern tower. Whatever may have been the vices and indiscretions of the Templars, in the Pyrenees they appear to have done nothing but good; erecting lazaret-houses, and often—according to M. Perret—risking the enmity of the great to protect the poor and oppressed.

Nevertheless, in their hour of ruin, no hand was raised to save them. The Commander, Bernard de Montagut, was burnt alive at Auch, and in the valley of Gavarnie, where the Knights were altogether devoted to the care of their sick, armed only with the crucifix, they were slaughtered to a man. The inhabitants of Valcabrère, formerly the seat of another commandery of the Order, used to rehearse the legend that every seven years, on the anniversary of the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin, the Commander of Valcabrère appeared in front of his convent-castle, and seven times called his Knights. A hollow voice replied to him : ' The Order of the Templars is dead ; the Holy Sepulchre no longer has its champions.' He uttered then seven cries of anguish, and retired within his tomb.

No account of the French Pyrenees could pretend to anything like completeness without a detailed description of the *cirques*, rocky amphitheatres met with to a greater or less extent in most mountain ranges, but remarkable in the Pyrenees for their unique and colossal proportions. The Gaelic name for those minor examples existing in the highlands of Scotland—*coire*, a cauldron—conveys the best idea of their peculiar formation, and the same image is suggested by the word *oule* in local patois. The traveller on his way from Luz to visit the most celebrated of these mighty *oules*, the Cirque de Gavarnie, finds his attention arrested and his powers of amazement awakened at the portals of the valley by the Peyrade or Chaos of Gavarnie, which at first sight seems to forbid his further progress. The general aspect of the Peyrade is that of a colossal ruined city : not a trace of vegetation, not a blade of grass, finds its niche among these broken masses of rock, which affect the most weird and awful forms. Mammoth dolmens, pyramids, and quaking stones, huge rocks that bend over towards each other, forming archways beneath which a whole troop of elephants might stalk, must be passed before reaching the bend of the valley and the travellers' goal. The unbroken view of the Cirque de Gavarnie, hewn out, as it were, in the flank of the Marboré, with its walls towering perpendicularly here and there for more than two thousand feet ; its different stages rising tier upon tier with almost the uniformity of human workmanship on a giant scale ; its seventeen cascades, fed by a myriad rivulets trickling like silver ribbons down the mountain gullies ; the glaciers, with their deep crevasses ; the snow-clad domes and pinnacles crowning all—like thrones, principalities, and powers : when beheld for the first time pro-

duces an impression not easily to be forgotten. The chief of the above-mentioned cascades is the highest known waterfall in the world, having a fall of no less than 1,160 feet. Seen from below, the eye only embraces a third of its descent, yet even then it appears to drop from the clouds. Not until the year 1847 was its source discovered, far up in the glacier of the Marboré.

The Cirque de Troumouse, though not far distant from Gavarnie, is less well known, and consequently less appreciated. As to the justice of this neglect our readers may judge for themselves from M. Perret's own description, and his comparison of the two :

'The academic or fashionable lovers of Gavarnie, those who find a difficulty in freeing themselves from established conventionalities, have discovered a formula for their judgment on the two *cirques*—Gavarnie, they say, may be called the more "artistic," but Troumouse is the grander. The truth is that, when, standing within the circuit of Troumouse, we recall in thought that of Gavarnie, it is impossible to avoid the exclamation : Why, beside Troumouse Gavarnie is but a "*bijou d'étagère*."

'Think, first of all, of its immensity : a circumference of two leagues ! Remember that, hollowed out to this depth below its summit—from eight to twelve hundred *mètres*—Troumouse, without this same immensity, would be an abyss, and it is one of the largest arenas in the world. The population of London would not fill it ; the united populations of Paris, London, and Pekin might find room within this amphitheatre. Suppose that on this stupendous stage a great piece is to be played, the apotheosis of Truth, for example . . . and that each of the great nations of the earth—seized with a curiosity which, after all, would be useless—should send a hundred thousand delegates, the *house* would still seem empty. Certainly Gavarnie has a toy-like appearance by the side of its rival Troumouse. As to being more "artistic," Gavarnie would be wrong in making any such pretensions. The beauty of Troumouse is far more varied, far more living. Ramond, the great explorer of the Pyrenees, exclaimed in a burst of admiration : "Here the air is free and the sky translucent." We have already said that the ground is clothed in verdure. The scenery, therefore, is not unique as at Gavarnie ; we do not see at Troumouse canopies of snow and the sparkle of waterfalls ; only, on the sombre background of rock-walls the most vivid contrasts of colour diffuse a charm on every side unknown to the other *cirque*, which is immovable and rigid. Large flocks pasture in the hollow of the arena ; sheepfolds are scattered over its surface. Life and animation are here. The spectacle is unequalled, at daybreak especially, when the sun begins to rise in the orient. All the left side of the *cirque* is in shadow ; the sunbeams as yet touch only the crests of the other, then suddenly bathe them in light and glide along the face of the precipice. Every mo-

ment fresh aspects present themselves, and the next are transfigured again. The projections stand out in relief, the various stages define themselves. Unsuspected knolls, huge blocks hitherto lost in the semi-obscurity, are revealed, the sunlight gilds those verdant hillocks which are the true foundations of the *enceinte*. The grey limestone rocks take a silvery tone, the shadows are exquisitely transparent . . . All this enchantment vanishes on the instant when the rain pours down. Those giant walls that the sun colours with glowing hues invest themselves with murky tints ; one sees them livid and scintillating like humid slate. The details fade away, even the sense of immensity disappears, leaving only that of *enormity*—a very different sensation. . . . The tempest usually announces its arrival by a succession of gusts which advise us to seek a shelter. No better can be found than one of the shepherds' cots which happily abound below in the *cirque*. They are simply scooped out in the ground and roofed with huge slabs of stone. The rain, however, has not yet begun ; but the thunder growls, the roaring tumult increases, and soon becomes so loud that one takes one's head in both hands lest it should burst. We might fancy ourselves set in the midst of a battery of cannon, all firing together. Doubtless those high glaciers, which dominate the amphitheatre, are terrible storehouses of electricity. The frightful din redoubles, the flashes of lightning succeed one another without interval, the bottom of the *cirque* is a sheet of flame, gigantic fiery tongues lick the sombre walls, a sulphuric odour fills the air. It is an infernal *festa*. The tempest, however, is short, usually terminated by a prodigious outpouring of the celestial cataracts. Such deluges are never dreamed of in the lowlands. The catastrophe of Héas in 1650 is instantly explained ' (i. 288-91).

The catastrophe alluded to in the slightly grandiloquent description we have just quoted was the consequence of an unparalleled rainfall lasting for three days and nights. The greater part of the Pic des Agudes, which dominated the valley of Héas, undermined by the incessant deluge, split off in a single block, and, falling into a thousand fragments, barred the end of the valley, converting the mountain torrent which traversed it into a wide lake. One hundred and thirty-eight years later occurred the sequel to this formidable drama. A furious tempest swelled and lashed the waters of the lake, until they burst their barriers, flooding the lower valleys and carrying away homesteads and bridges.

Barèges was among the places menaced by this inundation—Barèges, which has always had enough to endure with its own particular calamities. A shameless little river, which in the space of a few hours overflows its banks and bears desolation in its track, and five ravines by which the avalanches, yet more deadly enemies, hurl themselves down upon the valley, threatening, before the advent of modern engineer-

ing skill, year by year to annihilate the frail summer dwellings of the Barègeois. Unlike Luchon, and other Pyrenean watering-places, which are surrounded by gorgeous and varied scenery, and where, amid the throng of gay, light-hearted visitors, the sick and suffering slip by scarce noticed, Barèges has no attractions but its powerful waters, and no foreign colony save invalids—a crowd of pitiful figures on crutches, wounded soldiers, pale nuns and ecclesiastics. The travellers, sane and sound, who alight there have usually another end in view than to linger in its gloomy environs. For, strangely enough, Barèges, which M. Perret calls the ‘*coin disgracié des Pyrénées*,’ is a starting-point for one of the most interesting expeditions throughout the French Pyrenees—the ascent of the Pic du Midi de Bigorre.

He who would be a successful mountaineer, say the natives, should possess three qualifications: ‘*Ventre de Barèges, tête de Luz, jambes de Cauterets.*’ Taking these essentials for granted, let us join the traveller at the Col de Sencours, or Cinq-Cours, where the road from Bagnères unites with that from Barèges. At this point is the hostelry established in 1852 by Dr. Costalat, as a shelter for men of science and others climbing the Pic du Midi (the highest inhabited spot in Europe after the Great St. Bernard). Already towards the close of the eighteenth century, French scientists had pointed out this mountain as a valuable post for astronomical and meteorological observations; but more tragic affairs were beginning to engross the attention of French Ministers, and it was not until the year 1873 that the foundations of an observatory on the summit of the Pic were laid. General de Nansouty, and an engineer, M. Vauselat, directed the undertaking. The following year, General de Nansouty, an enthusiast in science, conceived the hazardous fancy of remaining throughout the winter at the hostelry, heedless of the fact that an avalanche had once before swept away the building. On December 13 a furious tempest swept over the house, shaking it to its very foundations, and carrying away windows, doors and roof. The General and two companions, who shared his voluntary exile, were driven forth into the newly fallen snow, over the Col de Sencours, and wandered for sixteen hours in the direst peril ere they reached the village of Gripp. Undaunted by this warning, the General resolved to make yet another attempt, and actually succeeded in passing the entire winter in this aerial prison, in a temperature which, happily, never fell below twenty degrees Réaumur! The various buildings at

the summit of the Pic (a height of more than 9,400 feet) have long been complete. The observatory proper is connected with Bagnères by telegraphic wires, and united by a tunnel with the dwelling-house half buried in the mountain's flank, twenty feet below the summit. The lower story, indeed, is hewn out of the solid rock; the upper one is protected by an enormous roof, against which rain and wind spend themselves in vain. Should these be accompanied by thunder and lightning, 'the observers and workmen, in the midst of the electric currents, feel themselves all at once nailed to the ground; their wrists are contracted, the tool or the instrument escapes from their grasp; their hair stands on end, a powerful odour like that of chloroform fills the apartment. Strange sounds soon add to the emotion which then seizes the most intrepid; the many lightning-conductors begin to hiss' (iii. 136).

Mounted on the platform of the observatory, we understand M. Vausselat's praise of its incomparable advantages. A unique panorama is spread out before our gaze, growing ever wider and more magical as we take in one and another of its infinite details. All the giants of the chain display themselves: the various peaks of Maladetta; Mont Perdu, Troumouse, Vignemale, Le Monné; the Marboré, with its stupendous towers and walls; the Brèche de Roland. On the Spanish side the view is awful in its rugged splendour, not a trace of verdure, no signs of life or habitation relieve the long range of bare and frowning Sierras. The French slope presents, in contrast, wide forests of beech and fir, green and fertile valleys dotted with hamlets, the silver threads of the Gave de Pau, the Garonne, and the Adour. To the east the mountains of Andorra bound the horizon; to the west our eyes wander on past the mountains of Béarn and the Pic du Midi d'Ossau, past the last spurs of the Pyrenees to a faint blue line which marks the ocean. Instinctively we re-echo the words of the geometrician, Plantade, who, having climbed the Pic at seventy years of age, for the purpose of astronomical observations, found the strain too severe for his declining powers. Struck down by apoplexy, he murmured with dying lips: 'Ah! que cela est beau!'

We have left ourselves but little space to touch upon the many points of interest in the third part of M. Perret's work. The Port de Venasque alone, among all the striking natural scenes and panoramas depicted there, cannot be passed over; while, of the old-world towns, in some of which whole pages of history lie buried, only Foix and Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges can here be brought before the reader.

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The Port de Venasque (Dépt. de la Haute Garonne) is one of the many defiles known as *cols* or passes in other mountain systems, and characterised by their comparatively greater altitude, some being little below the level of the surrounding crests. Far too rugged and perilous for wheeled traffic, they are frequented by contrabandists not a few, besides a scattered host of *colporteurs* and Spanish muleteers. For the benefit of those crossing the frontier, either by the Port de Venasque, de la Picade, or de la Glère, a *hospice* has been erected where the three routes converge, whose solitary guardian passes the summer there as best he may, but at the approach of winter descends to Luchon, leaving an ample store of provisions for any daring mountaineers who face the hazard of imprisonment by some blinding snowstorm. From the *hospice* to the Port is a fatiguing climb of 3,200 feet. Most dreaded by the pedlar is the Rail du Culet (*Rail* signifying field of destruction), where repeated avalanches have strewn the ground with *debris*, huge boulders and fragments of rock presenting obstacles at every step. Beyond this dreary spot a little verdure reappears among the rocks; saxifrages and clumps of rhododendron peep out from their midst, and soon the guide points upward to a narrow gap between two peaks, the Port de Venasque, only 200 feet below the limit of perpetual snow. There is full repayment for bruised feet and aching limbs when the open door into Spain is reached, and the giant group of Maladetta bursts into view, with its icy diadem, the Glacier du Néthou, king of Pyrenean summits. Should there be shifting wreaths of mist, the mighty mass assumes yet more colossal proportions; the downward path, ruder and steeper than on the northern slope, looms yet more dim and mysterious.

'Of the five departments enclosed in the higher circuit of the Pyrenees,' says M. Perret, 'the least visited is Ariège.' It is therefore not unlikely that none of those who read these pages have ever beheld the view of Foix and its surroundings, which he proceeds to describe:

'For us, who have already minutely explored the chain, this panorama of Foix is a fresh picture. Aspects and colours, all are special. To the left of the height on which we stand is an escarpment of grey rocks; a long, unbroken wall, with undulating summit. To the right are wooded hills, crowning the western side of the valley of the Arget, tributary of the Ariège; opposite, to the south, a fantastic interlacing of the mountains. Abrupt precipices, rapid declivities, a superb scale of colours, shining cornfields on the slopes of the less rugged mountains; above them waving woods, at once rich

and light in hue, beeches chiefly, with but few fir-trees; then the rounded ridges, clothed with a short, golden turf. Farther on an amphitheatre of rocky, needle-shaped hills hems in the town of Foix, situated at the confluence of the two rivers at the end of the valley. A field-glass is necessary in order to distinguish, amid this labyrinth bristling with crests and peaks, the *rocher de Foix*, bearing its three towers. Above the town another great wall uplifts itself; it is the first stage of a gigantic stairway, which rises higher and higher to the south-east, up to the Saint-Barthélemy' (iii. 367).

The interest of Foix centres in its famous castle, which the inhabitants proudly vaunt as one of the finest monuments of the South. The rock which it crowns rises abrupt and defiant from the valley on every side, and we can well believe that it might once have been an impregnable stronghold. Two of the three towers, outstanding in clear silhouettes against the sky, recall the earliest of those religious wars about which the Pyrenees have so much to tell us—the inglorious crusade against the Albigenses. About the year 1210 Raymond-Roger, Count of Foix, friend and ally of Raymond, the unfortunate Count of Toulouse, found his castle of Foix besieged by Simon de Montfort, who had already ravaged and desolated the rest of his possessions. Before this fortress, however, the terrible conqueror was foiled, revenging himself ere he decamped by destroying the wretched little town which crouched beneath its shadow. The Count of Foix, who was reckoned amongst the ablest captains of his day, inflicted, in concert with his allies, more than one severe check on the Crusaders; but after every such victory Montfort retaliated by a fresh raid into the Fuchsean territory, sacking, burning, and slaughtering wherever he passed. Raymond-Roger's reverses at length brought about what Simon de Montfort had failed to effect. The former, in placing himself under the protection of Innocent III., was forced to resign his castle of Foix to the papal legate and the Crusaders. His submission does not appear to have availed him greatly, for a year or two later we find him again fighting valiantly to recover his possessions, still usurped by Simon. He succumbed in 1223 to the fatigues he had undergone whilst besieging one of his own castles, leaving a heritage of unrest to the son who had already fought brilliantly at his side. The lot of Roger-Bernard II. was yet more unhappy than his father's. Forced to the hateful task of co-operating with the Inquisition, whose tribunal—from his very castle—strove to complete the work of extermination begun by the Crusades; alternately rebellious and submissive, excommunicated and reconciled to Holy

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Church, he expired at length in the Abbey of Bolbonne, where, heart-broken and weary, he had donned the monastic habit.

The third tower of the Château de Foix, of far later date than its fellows, is attributed to Gaston-Phœbus, fifth in succession from his ancestor, Roger-Bernard II. The crimes and perfidies of this handsome monster are too well known to be recounted here. Doubtless he made full use of the *oubliettes*, situated in the older part of the castle, as well as of the dungeons beneath his newly erected tower. Was it in one of these that Gaston's only son, falsely accused of attempting his father's life by poison, starved himself to death in the anguish of his soul?

When Gaston-Phœbus succeeded his father in 1343, Béarn had already, for half a century, been added to the possessions of the Counts of Foix. Little more than eighty years after his death the kingdom of Navarre passed by marriage within the grasp of that powerful and ambitious house, and from this period the fortunes of Foix merge themselves in those of the greater State.

Hitherto we have carefully avoided, in view of the somewhat cumbrous nature of our subject, all mention of Roman remains; though it is matter of common knowledge that the Pyrenees are rich in such memorials, and there is hardly a spot now frequented for its waters which does not lay claim to having once been visited by the masters of the world. But, in dealing with Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges we are fain to bestow a few words on the Roman city, Lugdunum Convenarum, over whose ruins mediæval Saint-Bertrand was built. Situated near the confluence of the Ourse and the Garonne, Lugdunum, we are told, covered all the plain with its amphitheatres, its villas, its palaces, its tombs, and its temples; Valcabrière, neighbour and rival of Saint-Bertrand, is largely built of its ruins, and one who has studied the district for more than forty years estimates that serious excavations have yet to be begun. Within the wide circuit of the Roman city (partly ruined by Vandal incursions) there sprang up a younger town, Comminges—strongly fortified and the seat of a bishopric—clustering on the hill now crowned by St. Bertrand's cathedral. In A.D. 585, during the fierce struggle between the sons of Clothaire, Christian town and Roman suburbs were overwhelmed in one common destruction. Valcabrière owes to this calamity its unique church, which remained the cathedral of the diocese until St. Bertrand, bishop of Comminges in the eleventh century, used his

immense worldly and spiritual influence to raise a new and stately edifice overlooking that town, which hereafter in grateful veneration added his name to its own. The cathedral commenced by St. Bertrand and completed by Bertrand de Goth, afterwards Pope Clement V., was further enriched and beautified by another prelate, Jean de Mauléon, with all the freedom of Renaissance fancy. The organ-chamber—said to be the richest in France, and a perfect marvel of carving—is due to him, but as most remarkable of his additions we regard the rood-loft, choir and chancel, a complete church within a church, constructed entirely in richly sculptured wood, and restricted to the bishop and his clergy. This inner sanctuary occupies almost the whole width of the nave, leaving only a narrow and dusky passage giving access to the chapels on either side. We should like to be able to describe the wonderful carved work of the choir, with its sixty-six stalls for archdeacons, vicars-general, and other dignitaries, but we must hasten on in order to devote a few moments to the beautiful roofless cloisters on the south side of the cathedral.

‘Creepers and grasses twine themselves above the Romanesque arches supported by twin columns, themselves placed on antique pedestals. On three of the four sides seven arcades. Against one of the pillars are set four statues representing the Evangelists; a second is composed of two pieces of an antique column; the capital is old Romanesque of interlaced design. Into the other capitals are introduced figures of animals and horsemen. The fourth side, sustaining a groined roof, is flanked by the wall of the church’ (ii. 268).

These cloisters, the last resting-place of ecclesiastics of every rank, whose names figure on pavement, wall, and column, are the work of St. Bertrand. Through a wide breach in the outer wall the traveller gains a view over the valley to its background of lofty mountains, and gazes downwards on the roofs and massive walls of the old fortified town. Saint-Bertrand, save for two episodes in the religious wars of the sixteenth century, enjoyed a rare repose. Its little world was governed by the bishop and his chapter; archdeacons, canons, prebends, formed the tone of its society. But there came a time at length when liberty, equality, fraternity swept all that tranquil life away. One incident from those days of terror may form, perhaps, a fitting close to this imperfect notice of a work which teems with interest.

In 1793 the see of Saint-Bertrand was vacant. The chapter had been dispersed three years previously; possibly a constitutional *cure* officiated at the well-nigh deserted altars of the cathedral. But it began to be rumoured amongst

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good citizens and Republicans that the Abbé d'Agos, *ci-devant* cellarer to the chapter, still haunted the scene of his former functions; that he even presumed from time to time to steal secretly, and by night, into Saint-Bertrand, to console the dying or administer the Sacraments. A vigorous search was instituted for his hiding-place, but in vain. The secret refuge of the Abbé was a mountain cavern above the village of Mauléon de Barousse. Here he remained until one snowy day in the January of '94 cold and hunger drove him out to seek the food which a pitying herdsman soon provided. But the snow betrayed his footprints to those enemies who were on the watch. He was taken, conveyed to Tarbes, and the alternative set before him—Death or the oath to the 'Constitution Civile.' Need we ask what would be the choice of such a priest as Messire Marie-Joseph d'Agos? A week later the guillotine closed his days of perilous service and ushered in his reward.

ART. IV.—SHORTENED SERVICES.

1. *An Act for the Amendment of the Act of Uniformity, 1872.* (Shortened Services Act.)
2. *The Convocation Prayer Book, being the Book of Common Prayer . . . with altered rubrics showing what would be the condition of the book if amended in conformity with the recommendations of the Convocations of Canterbury and York.* (London, 1880.)
3. *Guardian Newspaper*, Feb. 19, 1896, containing the debates in Convocation, and a Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge by the Rev. Charles Gore, M.A.

WHEN the Shortened Services Act was passed in 1872 many of us can remember how exultant some of the friends of the Church were. We were told that liturgical expansion and elasticity were gained at last; 'Dearly beloved brethren' was not hereafter to be the only spiritual pabulum which the Church of England had to offer to hungry souls. Our services were now to be bright and hearty, and all would throng to them. The wooden age was over; the golden age had begun. There were some who uttered a word of warning, neglected in the general congratulation; but even the more cautious did not quite foresee the untoward results that were to follow the passing of the Act. It has not drawn the masses to church. It has

discouraged the attendance of the devout laity. It has encouraged idleness and carelessness; and, further, it has led directly to the state of liturgical anarchy that we now endure. Of this result we will speak further on, but first of all we propose to examine the lines on which Divine Service is constructed in the Prayer Book, and to compare its unaltered services with those offered to us by the Shortened Services Act.

If we look at that part of the preface to the Prayer Book that has the heading 'Concerning the Service of the Church,' we shall find that the term 'Divine Service' is limited, as it was in the middle ages, to the choir offices, to the recitation of the Breviary or Psalter. The ancient Fathers, it tells us, 'so ordered the matter that all the whole Bible (or the greatest part thereof) should be read over every year,' and the Psalms were divided into seven portions so that the whole Psalter was read over once a week. When the Divine Service was rearranged in the sixteenth century, this was the ideal which was before the minds of the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer; but with two services only in the day, Mattins and Evensong, they did not attempt a weekly, but only a monthly, recitation of the Psalter. All the psalms were to be recited, without exception. Services giving the recitation of psalms in their regular order and the reading of Holy Scripture in a definite course were those which the reformed Church of England aimed at, and in this aim she did but follow in the steps of the earliest Christian practice, which we find set forth by Abbé Batiffol and Dom Suitbert Bäumer in their classical works on the history of the Divine Service.

This being the case, let us see how far the authors of the Shortened Services Act have kept before them the aim of the Church of England in Divine Service. Instead of three to five Psalms at each service, permission is given to recite only one. Instead of two lessons from Holy Scripture, one from the Old Testament, the other from the New, permission is given to read only one lesson. Instead of the large amount of orderly Scripture reading—nearly the whole Bible every year—to listen to which it was once the good fortune of those who attended Divine Service daily, the amount of Psalter and Scripture lesson is reduced to the smallest, and there is no guarantee that the reading shall be continuous, so that the greatest part of the Bible shall be read through in the year, as designed in the Prayer Book. To day, the one lesson may be from the Old Testament; to-morrow, or the rest of the week, the lesson may be from the New; there may be one

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lesson only at Mattins, and two at Evensong ; the course and amount of Bible reading are at 'the discretion of the minister.' There can be no denying that the Scriptural elements, which are the really important parts of Divine Service, have been very greatly reduced, and thereby has been injured the good reputation of the Church of England as the great communion of Christendom that feeds her children largely and daily with the pure Word of God. To speak the truth, *the Prayer Book conception of the Divine Service was destroyed in 1872.*

Now, nothing would have been easier, if the draftsmen of the Act had really wished it, than to retain the old liturgical lines of Divine Service. They could have done this, and yet shortened the service quite as much as, if not more than, they have done. (We argue for the moment on the supposition, which we should not willingly accept, that it is desirable to shorten the daily service at all.) They could have lopped off the beginning and ending of the service, and yet left us the essence and Scripture part. To show this : at Mattins they could have begun with *Venite* and continued thence, in the regular order of the Prayer Book, to the Lord's Prayer in the lesser litany. At Evensong they could have begun with the psalms of the day, and so on through the lessons to the same ending with the Lord's Prayer. This would have preserved the marrow of the service, all the psalms and hymns, canticles and lessons, would have been retained ; and privately by those who wished, there could have been prefixed the preparatory part of the service, confession, Lord's Prayer, and versicles ; and at the end could have been added the prayers, or *preces*, as they are called, collects, and intercessions. If this be thought too bald, the introductory Lord's Prayer and versicles might have been retained, and the prayers with the three collects added at the end without greatly increasing the length of time to be spent in prayer. But the shortened services scheme shows small acquaintance with liturgical studies. Nowhere can better evidence of this be found than in this one point : viz. the direction to omit *Kyrie* and the Lord's Prayer in the prayers (or lesser litany as it is called) after the Creed. This omission jars upon any one with a sense of antiquity. The Lord's Prayer is the summing up of all the prayers and praises just offered in the psalms and Scripture lessons and canticles. To take it away from this place is to destroy the very kernel of the Divine Service. The Lord's Prayer comes at this place in all rites, ancient and modern. Cardinal Tomasi was one of the first ritualists, if not the very first, that the world has seen since the Reformation, and in

his scheme for shortened services to be used in country churches and the oratories of lay confraternities, the Lord's Prayer was preserved at the end of the service in the place of the collects.¹ His plan was to remove from the Divine Service all that was not taken from Holy Scripture; all anthems, responds, metrical hymns, even the collects, in place of which last was to be recited the Lord's Prayer. The Divine Service would consist of the psalms, hymns,² and lessons, and nothing more. The course of the psalms was to be strictly adhered to, proper psalms being recited only on Christmas Day, the Epiphany, Easter Day, and the like. And he gives a scheme of three Scripture lessons based upon the old course of Isaiah in Advent and Genesis in Septuagesima, with the outline of which we are all familiar. There can be no doubt that Cardinal Tomasi's plan of shortened services is infinitely better than that which appears in the schedule of the Act of 1872. It is wholly Biblical; it could not be objected to by a Puritan, and yet nothing could be more primitive and patristic. It is very much to be wished that some Scriptural plan of this sort had been before the draftsmen of the Act.

Another ancient feature has disappeared from the scheme of the Shortened Services of 1872: the invitatory psalm to the services of the day, *Venite*, which is found all over the West in the ancient rites; its position as the first psalm of Mattins was kept even in the reforms of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Then as to *Te Deum*, which in very early times appears to have been said every day at Mattins, neither it nor its substitute need ever be said on a weekday at all. Some authority may be quoted for its omission from Septuagesima to Easter, on Ember days, vigils, and other fasts, but its omission on festivals is very unusual. Except by the favour of 'the officiating minister' we need not have *Te Deum* on any festival except Christmas Day and Holy Thursday, not even *Benedicite*; while the draftsmen of the Act have been careful to protect us from the repetition of *Benedictus* on St. John Baptist's day. Truly they have here strained out the gnat and swallowed a camel.

Again, except by favour of 'the officiating minister,' *Quicumque vult* need never be heard except on Christmas Day, Easter Day, Ascension Day, Whit-Sunday, Trinity

¹ *Thomasii Opera*, Romæ, 1754, ed. Vezzosi, vii. 62: 'De privato ecclesiasticorum officiorum Breviario extra chorum.' As to the Lord's Prayer see p. 67. The whole tract is well worth attention.

² By hymns we mean *Te Deum*, *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, as in the Prayer Book, or the Scripture canticles at Lauds in the breviaries.

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Sunday, or, by chance, on a Sunday upon which some festival happens to fall to which the Athanasian Creed is assigned. The prayers for the Queen, the royal family, and the estates of the realm need never be said on a week day. Their omission is perhaps due to some unhistorical notions about the 'regalism' of the Prayer Book. There may be no prayers for the sovereign in the Roman liturgy, but this by no means proves that it is a Catholic custom to omit them. Owing to the secular enmity between the Pope and the Emperor, the prayers in the Roman Missal 'for kings and for all in authority' have been reduced to nothing. The words 'et rege nostro N.' have been expunged from the canon of the Mass; and since the disappearance of the Holy Roman Empire the prayers for the Emperor on Good Friday and Easter Even, though still printed, have ceased to be recited, very much as the prayers for the Queen and Parliament, though printed, have ceased in our time, unhappily, to be recited. The custom in England before the Norman Conquest was to pray for the King daily four times at Mass; and the Benedictines, if no other order, recited special psalms and collects at Mattins for the King, Queen, and royal family. No remark is needed upon the direction to omit 'the prayer for all conditions of men,' or 'the general thanksgiving.' Its want of piety will be felt by every devout soul.¹

Evensong is treated in the same way, being usually said without *Magnificat*, because that is longer than *Nunc dimittis*. We often find the Act abused in a mischievous way. Parochial gatherings are announced, meetings of choirs, harvest festivals are to be held, and with the announcement there appears the statement that 'shortened Evensong will be sung.' This means that the orderly system of the Prayer Book is broken in upon, a mere section of Evensong recited, while elaborate music is performed, made to last the best part of an hour, the congregation (or shall we say the audience?) being invited to sit.

And when the service has been cut down to the very limits allowed by the Act, what has been attained? It is a

¹ It is allowed by most that the reform of the Roman Breviary under Pius V. in 1568 was not well done, for causes of which the Bishop of Lerida forewarned the Tridentine Fathers (see below, p. 80). Yet both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw several very important schemes of reform of the Divine Service which might have afforded valuable hints to the draftsmen of the Act of 1872. But no intimation is given that they were acquainted with these schemes. At all events they were not heeded, and the usual punishment of contempt of the lessons of experience has descended upon such rejection.

shame to us to speak of having saved time. That cannot be the gain. The layman who comes to join in the praises of God in his parish church feels no happiness in having the time which he proposes to devote to Divine Service shortened by some poor five minutes. Punctuality in beginning the service would please him more. If the service, whether Eucharist or choir office, were begun as the clock strikes, we should have a reform far more acceptable to the layman than shortened services. And to the conscientious clergyman the 'shortened services' are, indeed, no shortened services at all. He is bound to recite the whole, 'either privately or openly,' as it stands in the Prayer Book. So that, after attending one of these shortened and eviscerated services, he has to begin his own service over again, and say it as it should be said, with psalms and lessons intact. Shall we be astonished when we hear that under such circumstances lay folk, as well as clergy, discontinue daily attendance at the parish church? though we know it is always best to recite the service in choir; or, failing that, in company.

And now we come to the consideration of the second part of our subject: the disastrous state of affairs to which the working of this Act has led us—this 'unfortunate and much perverted' Act, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has called it,¹ a strong expression considering the position of the speaker as Primate of all England, and his authority as a private doctor in all matters of liturgy. 'Unfortunate' the Act is in many respects, but not least in the licence that it has suggested if not definitely allowed beyond the prescribed scope of the Act itself. For example, one psalm only may be said: *one or more* is the rubric. The whole of one psalm must be said; yet if a psalm at a service on a week-day be a little long, these lovers of shortened services do not hesitate to leave out the greater part of the psalm, say, of the one psalm at Evensong on the third, seventh, fifteenth, and seventeenth days, or at Mattins on the thirteenth day. On the other days they are, indeed, within the law in reading only the shortest psalm, which is that usually chosen; and so all orderly recitation of the Psalter in course is destroyed; we no longer have all the psalms recited once a month; and we are thus reduced precisely to that state lamented in the preface of the Book of Common Prayer, a state which the Reformation was designed to remedy: 'now of late time a few of them have been daily said, and the rest utterly omitted.'

¹ Edward White [Benson], Archbishop of Canterbury, *Fishers of Men*, London, 1893, p. 97 (iv. Struggling Views).

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It is bad enough to have these omissions practised on a week-day ; but when these mutilations are imposed upon the faithful on a Sunday they are plainly illegal, for the Shortened Services Act expressly excludes from its action Sundays and a few great days. The whole of the service as set out in the Prayer Book must be recited once on the Sunday if any regard be had to the law. But we now begin to feel the evils of the indirect suggestions of the Act, for who has not attended services on Sunday in country places where Mattins or Evensong, being the only Mattins or Evensong said in that church on that day, has not been mutilated after the same fashion that the Shortened Services Act directs on a week-day ?

Worse lies before us. Grievous mutilations of the Eucharistic Service have undoubtedly been suggested by this Act. The omission of the Ten Commandments and of the Liturgical Collect for the Queen is bad. Both of these omitted parts have excellent authority ; one is the prophetic lesson, lost, indeed, by the modern Roman Missal, but present to this day in the Ambrosian and Mozarabic liturgies and in Eastern rites ; the Collect for the Queen is drawn from the *Missa quotidiana pro rege* of the Gregorian Sacramentary. It would seem that the omission of the prayer for the Church militant were almost an impossibility ; yet it is practised ; and so also, notoriously, are left out the Confession, Absolution, and Comfortable Words. How much further mutilation can go we cannot divine ; yet report tells us of other and, if possible, more vital omissions still. Without the Shortened Services Act we should have had none of these scandals.

How a clergyman who has made the solemn promise that he has made to use the Book of Common Prayer, and none other, can reconcile it to his conscience to do the things which are unhappily now notorious, we do not understand. And this disregard of the rules of the Prayer Book is, it must be owned, not limited to any one school in the Church : the Low Church and the Broad Church are as deeply involved as the High Church. We read in the *Guardian* of a Broad Church canon arraying himself in some gaudy clothing, unknown in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI., and then proceeding to mutilate the address in the Marriage Service, the substance of which goes back to the early days of Christianity, in order, we may suppose, to spare the prudery of an age that has invented the new woman and other marks of progress. When men who ought to be bound by the rule of the Church (as their name would imply) set this example,

how can we be surprised if the new-ordained priest thinks it the right thing to mutilate the forms of sacraments and sacramentals to the verge, or beyond the verge, of invalidity?

We have been told that it is now a common custom in certain churches on Sunday mornings to say Mattins and Litany, which are followed by a sermon; and then, on the withdrawal of the bulk of the congregation, the priest begins *at the offertory* to celebrate the Eucharist. By this means the Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, and the recitation of the Nicene Creed, are avoided. It would seem certain that, unless something can be done to stem this mania of abbreviation, there will be nothing liturgical left to our children. They may have to struggle even for the valid administration of the sacraments.

In the same direction there has been a tendency in the debates in Convocation of late years to throw too much responsibility into the hands of the clergyman who says Divine Service. A certain choice of collects and other prayers there has been always, as we may see in the ancient Sacramentaries, with their long lists *Item alia*, but with the structure of the service defined and mapped out with precision. Now, when we go into church we sometimes do not know what sort of service will be said. The psalms and lessons might, for us, be chosen on the spur of the moment; the modern church services, indeed, are not unlike the extempore services of the Puritans in the uncertainty that attends their character. A great reform would be the removal of this uncertainty. What we really want is to be no longer at the mercy of 'the officiating minister.'

In the midst of all this perplexity it has been thought fit to add to our anxieties by the introduction of a bill into the Upper House of the Canterbury Convocation which threatens us with changes which are the more alarming because we cannot see to what they will grow. It is proposed that the alterations made by the two Convocations in the rubrics shall be laid upon the table of the Houses of Parliament, and then, after a certain time, if no address be presented against the alterations, they shall, with the Queen's consent, have the force of law. What a prospect of unlimited change opens before us! And the kind of changes that we may well expect are

¹ In this connexion we extract from the *Guardian* of Feb. 26 last, a letter from 'Anglicanus' on the 'Amendment of Rubrics':

'SIR—The genius for understanding the value and force of rubrics, with which a more gifted generation than our own supplied us, the power of constructing Church services, or even a single satisfactory prayer, seems to have been long lost to us. It was a venerable tradition of more religious and less restless times. We might have kept the secret by

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to be seen in the rubrics of the Convocation Prayer Book, one of the works at the head of this article. The book does not

using the material which we have inherited in the Prayer Book. But we have been too busy in other ways.

Believing that there can be no fault in ourselves, we always seek for it in the Prayer Book. Last week's Convocation was (not to speak disrespectfully) *considering* whether an indulgent permission to the clergy to exercise their private judgment upon the rubrics would not be desirable. It seems a great power to put into the hands of men who are very unlikely to be more gifted with wisdom and judgment than are men in general, and to show a startling degree of confidence. And considering that it means the breaking down of an intelligent, orderly ecclesiastical system, the subject was considered by some persons to have been treated with too much self-complacency.

Rubrics seem to be intended as a carefully arranged barrier against ignorance and lawlessness. They are necessary for instructing men who are mostly ill provided with ecclesiastical or even orderly instincts, which are far more rare in this generation than many people imagine. Their value can only be fully understood by those who realise with a real faith the majesty of Him Whom they address in divine service, and the personal worthlessness of themselves. To such men rubrics appear a most grateful help, to be handled with reverence and thankfulness. An accommodation of them, or "amendment," as it is called, means a revolution. In the spirit in which the attempt is being made, it turns what has a divine reference into a something to be treated by the clergyman as suits his own taste and convenience. Those who need them most will use them least. We have already seen the result of another "amendment" movement in "The Shortened Services Act." As might have been foreseen, that Act has been accepted as permitting mutilations and shortening of services anyhow and anywhere, at the will of the incumbent. Just the same would happen with the amended rubrics. It would establish complete lawlessness. In noticing this fact as regards the shortened services, a very high ecclesiastical authority has spoken of this Act as "unfortunate and perverted." It was a case of thoughtless legislation for men who are not troubled with too scrupulous consciences.

If it were otherwise desirable, such latitude as is implied by the amended rubrics debate cannot be allowed to a largely untrained body of men, who are hungering for a change in things of the value of which they are largely unaware, and for the possession of a personal power in connexion with divine service, which must lower divine worship to the level of the meeting-house. I say nothing of the unhappy and helpless position of the laity under such an unlooked-for change—from Church authority to that of an individual. We have talked of late of the reunion of Christendom, but we are arranging for a great disruption at home.

The effort made by Bishop Blomfield for correcting lawlessness by a demand for a loyal observance of the Prayer Book was deficient in firmness of handling, and was, no doubt, somewhat premature and sudden, but it was true in principle. The Prayer Book is our *terra firma*, which the sermon preached by Mr. Gore at Cambridge on Quinquagesima Sunday *seems* to point to. If so, it gives a welcome gleam of light in a dreary sky. The work of recovery is no doubt to us a difficult one; but to counter-work the spirit of lawlessness and disorder which for our sins, no doubt, has possessed us is a *divine* work. It must have a blessing. For the Church of England can only do the work which is laid upon her

impress us very favourably ; the learning shown in the various amendments is not such as we should imagine we had a right to expect from the Convocation of Canterbury ; and after some study of the book, the conclusion is forced upon us that hardly any of the changes proposed are necessary or called for. In the alterations made by the Canterbury Convocation we could wish for a far greater knowledge of the history of the rubrics, of liturgy in general, and of the Prayer Book in particular. The changes seem to have been made by theologians rather than by rubricians, or ritualists, or liturgical scholars, or whatever name may be given to those who make the history of the Prayer Book their study. We need not enter very far into the book before we find evidence of this. First of all there is the Shortened Services Act incorporated into the Prayer Book ; of the value of this as a liturgical production we have already expressed an opinion ; then comes a table of proper psalms for sixteen days, and for the Sundays following some of these days : the annual number is thus nineteen. Surely history is written in vain for some theologians. It was the overgrowth of days for which proper psalms were appointed that led to the state of affairs in the sixteenth century, which made all men cry out, even the Council of Trent, for a reform of the Divine Service. In the Prayer Book of 1662 we have just enough proper psalms ; we need no more ; we could have even spared proper psalms and lessons for Ash Wednesday, for in accordance with ancient practice this day had no special psalms, hymns, or lessons. The use of the seven penitential psalms on this day is, indeed, very appropriate to the beginning of Lent. Now, until the Shortened Services Act was passed, we had the recitation of the Psalter in order, daily, every psalm to his own day. An increase of the number of days to which proper psalms are assigned increases the evil done by the Shortened Services Act, so that it will not be long before our people will only be acquainted with some few of the psalms, and as a whole the Psalter will be unknown to them. This, we are told, is still the case with the modern Roman Catholics, as it was before the sixteenth century : 'Now of late time a few of them have been daily said, and the rest utterly omitted.'¹ What if she has the grace to do it loyally, with the powers and weapons with which she has been providentially endowed, trusting the future to God, with a firm faith.

'The *Spectator* of this week calls "the state of anarchy which now prevails in the Church of England almost sickening." Is Convocation anxious to legalise such anarchy?

'*ANGLICANUS.*'

¹ *Preface to the Prayer Book.*

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we want to keep is recitation of the entire Psalter at least every month.

The ornaments rubric, so far as it concerns the ornaments of the ministers of the Church, is suppressed. Permission is given, in the teeth of history, to use the Easter anthem in place of *Venite* throughout Easter week. Had the anthem been restored to its place before Mattins, as in the first Edwardian book, so that *Venite* should never be displaced, that restoration would have been more in accordance with liturgical custom. We find even technical words used in a strange sense. The Roman expression *office* appears rather than the more English word *service*. *Offertory* is positively used of a mere collection of money; altered, however, by the York Convocation into *collection of alms and other devotions of the people*, a correction in which we may very likely trace the hand of the Rev. T. F. Simmons, Canon of York. Most of the alterations made by Canterbury have very wisely been omitted by York; the ornaments rubric has been restored, and the like. We are indeed grateful to the York Convocation for their action; but are we sure that we shall always have a rubrician and historian among them like Mr. Simmons, able to control the appetite of the theologians for change? Shall we always have the good fortune of being able to prevent, as in 1879, the disturbance of the settlement of 1662? It is to be hoped sincerely that means will be taken, if the proposed bill become law, to make it impossible for us to be at the mercy of any sudden squall of public opinion which will frighten Convocation into some serious act that cannot be undone.

We must own that as we read the Bishop of Winchester's speech in Convocation, we began to fear that the spirit of Pius IX. and of Cardinal Manning was about to find a shelter in the Church of England; and that, in a communion which exists by virtue of its appeal to history, the appeal to history was now to be denounced as a treason. 'It is not to my mind,' says the Bishop, 'quite satisfactory that, when we want to know about some rule which is to be, or ought to be, enjoined, it should be to archæologists rather than to theologians that we are bound to go.'¹ Now, we know already the likely result of an appeal to theologians from the archæologists, or rubricians, ritualists, liturgical scholars, or whatever we call them. It is before us in the altered rubrics of the Convocation Prayer Book. We can see there the unintelligent way in which the rubrics have been handled. And yet the

¹ *Guardian*, February, p. 291, col. lii.

advocates of the new bill desire to change the rubrics while refusing the warnings that can be given by those versed in the study of history, and while despising the checks offered by past experience. The mere introduction of the bill is alarming enough; but our alarm is not diminished when those who wish to see the bill become law tell us that they appeal from the antiquary to the politician; from the man of knowledge to the practical man; from the scholar to the philistine. When the proposal to review the Roman liturgical books was made at the Council of Trent, and the papal party succeeded in their design of giving this commission to the Roman See, it was not, however, until they had been warned by the Bishop of Lerida that in making liturgical corrections 'there was need of an exquisite knowledge of Antiquity, and of the Customs of all Countries, which will not be found in the Court of Rome; where, though there be Men of exquisite Wit and of great Learning, yet they want skill in this kind, which is necessary to do anything commendably herein.'¹ As at the court of Rome in 1563, there may be excellent theologians, administrators, diplomats, men of the world, and courtiers in Convocation in 1896. Yet if those with 'an exquisite knowledge of Antiquity' be not allowed to speak, we can expect nothing but disaster from a revision of the rubrics under such circumstances. Instead of the liturgical principles which have guided the Church from the earliest times, and which are best known to the archæologist and historian, we are to consult our convenience; hardly a commendable spring of action, even if it be limited by being convenience 'in the largest and highest sense of the word.' When the Prayer Book was to be revised in 1661, it was not to convenience, but to the ancient liturgies that our fathers turned their minds.²

Churchmen are very grateful to the Bishop of Winchester for the firmness which he displayed under trying circumstances in dealing with a scandalous disregard of the rules of the Prayer Book, but duty compels us to point out that we cannot accept the principles which he would lay down for revising the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer. Those

¹ Sir Nathanael Brent's translation of Father Paul's *History of the Council of Trent*, London, 1676, p. 747. The reform of the Breviary was done with considerable haste, and the truth of the Bishop's forecast has been verified by the attempts which have been made at amendment. (See Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire romain*, ch. vi.)

² The King's commission directs the Bishops 'to advise upon and review the said Book of Common Prayer, comparing the same with the most ancient liturgies which have been used in the Church in the primitive and purest times' (D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737, vol. iv. p. 571).

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principles are not, at all events, the lines of the revision of 1662 ; and a departure from them would be a serious disturbance of the Restoration settlement.

It is a note of the nineteenth century that it is always in a hurry. It is even considered a virtue, a thing one aims at and is proud of, not to have a moment that one can call one's own ; never to have any time for reflection or meditation, or an hour in which one can possess one's soul. If such a spirit of haste be allowed to enter into our services, we may be sure that all devotion will be at an end. This fatal desire to save time has brought us the mutilations of the Shortened Services Act, or, if the services be not mutilated, it has caused a rapidity of recitation which is a complete bar to the edification of those that come to church. Mr. Gore, the Canon of Westminster, is not a writer who is given to over much blaming of the methods of the nineteenth century ; yet he sees the dangers of our hasty ways. 'Everything in our modern life, in our age of advertisement and journalism, tends to make us prefer publicity to depth, *speed to thoroughness*, numbers to reality ; and to give way to that tendency is to give way to death.'¹ It is this desire to save time, to be getting on, even in our most sacred occupations, which has led directly to the liturgical anarchy which every true friend of the Church of England deplors. Mr. Gore sees, as everyone else with the least knowledge of affairs must see, that a return to discipline is inevitable.

'The time is surely come when excrescences weakening to the life of the whole body need to be pared off by the exercise of a moderate but impartial discipline. Every now and then, when hopes are stirred by the deep evidences of a recovering unity amongst us and a fuller sense of corporate life, our hopes are chilled by some utterance or act of what looks like deliberate lawlessness, deliberate repudiation of principles binding on us all, on which very often no corporate or authoritative judgment, in utterance or act, is allowed to fall.'

We must have come indeed to a noteworthy crisis when an advanced Radical asks for measures of repression. Anything like a Coercion Act we should indeed grieve to see necessary ; and our sorrow would be the greater because we believe that the remedy is still in the hands of the clergy themselves. The great majority are still true to the principles and order of the Church of England, and we feel sure that they could, by putting out their influence, restrain the

¹ Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge upon Quinquagesima, *Guardian*, p. 271, last three lines of col. iii.

lawless and the foolish. Let the clergy agree among themselves that they will see the plain directions and rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer impartially-kept; and if this were only understood to be the general intention of the great body of the clergy, the number of those who wilfully disregard all rules but their own pleasure ought soon to be reduced to a *quantité négligeable*. It would very greatly discourage these lawless and foolish ones if they could no longer appeal to the Act which has encouraged their sloth and indevotion. The repeal of the Shortened Services Act would be a notification that the source and original of the clippings, mutilations, and excisions now practised upon the services of the Book of Common Prayer had been taken away, and that the state of anarchy created by this Act was no longer recognized. Instead of the Bill now before Convocation, Churchmen would welcome more warmly a repeal of the schedule of the Act of Uniformity Amendment Act, the mischievous schedule which has set up among us those eviscerated services which are so little credit to the piety, the learning, or the liturgical instincts of the nineteenth century synods of the Church of England.

ART. V.—THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England. Translated from the German of FELIX MAKOWER, Barrister in Berlin. (London and New York, 1895.)

THE notice of the German edition of this comprehensive work which appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review* in July 1894 was, we believe, the earliest review of the book in this country. We are not now told who has translated it into English, but the author has taken the opportunity of making several alterations, and a list of them is given in a preliminary note (p. v). The appearance of the work in its English dress at once places it within the reach of a very much larger circle of readers, at a time too which is very favourable for gaining their attention from several points of view.

There is at present a lull in the political storm, which will encourage many Churchmen to give sound lectures on Church history to ignorant people. When the political parties are

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really engaged in fighting upon some matter of Church principles there is a marked tendency to be reticent on the part of diffident Churchmen, who know from their reading of history that the Church may harm the cause of Christ if she identifies herself with one political party, or allows herself to fight with worldly weapons instead of 'a few bright weapons, bathed on high.'¹ It may be argued that there seems to be a want of zeal and loyalty in this silence; but those who are silent from prudent motives in times of controversy may perhaps speak with greater probabilities of commanding attention in times of peace. And good work may be done by carefully prepared popular lectures on Church history if such persons as we are describing will deliver them. They will find in Dr. Makower's work just what they want for this purpose.

Again, it must be a favourable time for the popular study of the constitution of the English Church when the Church of England is sufficiently to the fore to be attacked. She is not ignored, but reckoned with, in all the great undertakings of the day for the social and moral and religious improvement of the people. If there are many hot-headed young Churchmen who have meddled with vast questions of capital and labour, which they have had next to no means at all of really understanding, there are also wise and patient heads among the older Churchmen, like the Bishop of Durham, who have gained a unique place for the Church in great industrial centres of population. In educational matters, when all due praise is given to Nonconformist religious efforts, it is the Church that stands out full in the front as the great preserver of unrestricted Christian education for the poor of the land. It is due to the Church that religious and secular instruction are not divorced in the elementary schools; and it is a matter of history that the Church has taught the State to devote itself to the education of children. In the numerical strength and increase of her ministry the Church of England, according to the official census returns of 1891, has nobly responded to the claims of a larger population. In 1881 there were in round numbers twenty-one thousand clergymen, in 1891 twenty-four thousand. By the same returns it appears that 'other religious bodies,' excluding the Roman Catholics from that term, have increased the number of their ministers less from 1881 to 1891 than from 1871 to 1881. They have failed, that is to say, to cope with the growing population, and the tendency of religion in England is shown to be, not

¹ *Lyra Apostolica*, No. 64.

towards Nonconformity, but towards the old Church which made the scattered little kingdoms into England. Here is the opportunity for teaching the people what is the history of the constitution of this Church, set on a hill before the people of England, and occupying a position which it may cause a pang to acknowledge, but which cannot be denied. The Church of England is not ashamed of the history of her constitutional growth, and Dr. Makower provides a luminous account of it which makes the study a thorough pleasure.

There is one more topic on which we must dwell as an introduction to Dr. Makower's pages, and it arises from the influence of the Church among the people. It has come to pass in these days that in every parish in England there are one or two men eager about Church history. They are not confined to any one class of life; but so far as our own experience goes, when the artisan or the young clerk is interested in Church history he is more enthusiastic and anxious to learn than people in some other walks of life. In every factory, in every foundry, in every railway centre, and in every great commercial house there is to be found some man nowadays who is a Churchman to the bone. He gets knocked about; his small failings are made more of than the great vices of his fellows; every newspaper report of a clergyman's appearance in a police court is thrust under his notice; he is chaffed or bullied, but never now ignored; he is called a prig, a saint, a hypocrite, a dreamer, all in turn; but he holds on his way, and is the salt of the earth, and one of the parish priest's inner band, who deserves the most loving care that the Church can bestow upon her sons. He does a work for the Church at times and in places where the priest himself can gain no entrance; he hears arguments and objections which the priest can only know about at secondhand; and he is always face to face with assertions about the Church which can only be pardoned because of the gross ignorance of the speaker. Now our friend is as a rule a ravenous reader. He is always asking for books on this and that; and if the pith of such a book as Dr. Makower's *Constitutional History* can be lodged in his mind, he will redistribute it on countless occasions to the great advantage of the Church. With these introductory remarks, intended to promote the popular study of Church history, we turn to the details of the book before us.

I. Dr. Makower divides the history of the constitution of the Church in the first place into the local divisions of (1) England, (2) Scotland, (3) Ireland, (4) the Colonies and

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abroad. The first of these divisions is a survey of English Church history (*a*) from its commencement to the time of the Norman Conquest, (*b*) from the Norman Conquest to the Reformation, (*c*) from the Reformation to the present day. The account of the introduction of Christianity is necessarily brief, and on many points the student has to be content with the references to original documents given by Haddan and Stubbs and to Bede. But it should be said that Dr. Makower is singularly successful in the combination of accuracy and brevity, and in touching impartially upon the salient points to which he can do no more than allude. We derive correct impressions from the short references to the early traces of British Christianity, the missions of SS. Augustine, Birinus, and Felix, the points in dispute between Celtic and Roman Christianity, the missionary success of the brilliant genius of Wilfrid, the organizing powers of Theodore, and the devastations of the Danish invasions. In the text and in the notes we encounter those explanations of terms—for example, of 'Bretwalda'—which every German seems to love to make complete. Perhaps we do not quite gather enough from Dr. Makower upon the mission of St. Aidan; but this is the less to be deplored because St. Aidan's work has of late been enlarged upon out of due proportion. The relation of State and Church to one another, and the internal development of the Church's constitution, are discussed in separate sections for each of the three periods (*a*), (*b*), and (*c*), and it is therefore easy to follow the growth as time proceeds. We can trace the successive steps of the advance of papal power, and see how before the Conquest 'the Pope meddled but little with the affairs of the English Church' (p. 7), how with the Conquest there came a tightening of the central State control, followed by the struggles connected with the names of Anselm, Becket, and Langton, and a considerable advance of papal power (pp. 18, 21, 28), which went on growing until, in the sixteenth century, the king ignored both the Church and the Pope (p. 97). Dr. Makower has treated his third period—the Reformation—much more fully than the preceding two. He has entered into the distinctive features of the Reformation in England (p. 48), and has written a careful section on 'the struggle against Papists and Protestant sects at the end of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century' (p. 68). We cannot enlarge upon the portions of the work which deal with Scotland (p. 103), Ireland (p. 125), and the Church in the Colonies (p. 141); but we must content ourselves with saying that Dr. Makower gives a remarkably

well-condensed account of the history and literature of the Church under these heads, and we do not know to what better guide we could conduct an inquirer.

II. Under the second heading of the work we are introduced to a discussion on the 'sources of ecclesiastical law.' Two general principles noticed by Dr. Makower are the repudiation of papal ordinances from the time of the Reformation, and the acceptance of such canons of general councils as were ratified by English councils (p. 160). In the main this second portion of the work is a rigidly compressed account of the Prayer Book and the history of the Articles. Dr. Makower has taken great pains to be accurate, but he has not succeeded so well here as in other sections in making his work interesting. There is so much to be said, and there are so many authorities claiming attention, that it is not surprising to find that a writer who looks at the subject from without and not from within should not seize upon all the golden threads in the tangled skein, and should occasionally quote an inferior authority that is not of much weight among English Churchmen. But as an instance of Dr. Makower's care it may be mentioned that when he tells the reader that in the Thirty-nine Articles 'the three ancient Creeds are recognized as binding,' he adds in a footnote the resolution of the Convocation of Canterbury explaining the sense in which the language of the Athanasian Creed is used (p. 172). On the very important variations in the reading of Article XX., however, Dr. Makower's note is very brief—too brief when the bearing of the reading on his subject is considered (p. 172 and note 16 there). The matter is of sufficient importance to make it worth while to put the evidence together for the authenticity of the first clause of Article XX. The words are: 'Habet ecclesia ritus [sive ceremonias] statuendi jus et in fidei controversiis auctoritatem; quamvis ...' As to the words 'sive ceremonias,' they are not found in No. (1) nor in No. (4), mentioned below, but they do appear in the authorized English 'or ceremonies.' The rest of the clause is found in (1) the early Latin draft of the Articles, among the Elizabeth State Papers, where it is inserted *prima manu*; (2) the Latin edition of R. Wolfe of 1563, authorized by the Queen; (3) two or more English editions of Jugge and Cawood, 1571; (4) the transcript of 1637, made from the original copy and deposited in the registry office of the see of Canterbury; (5) six or more English editions between 1581 and 1628; and (6) all subsequent copies. On the other hand, the clause is not found in (a) the Latin MS.

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signed by Parker and others on January 29, 1563; (b) the English minute of the Articles dated January 31, 1563, in the Elizabeth State Papers; (c) a fair copy of (b) endorsed 'Articles of Religion agreed on 1562 in the Convocation house'; (d) the English version of the Articles printed by Jugge and Cawood in 1563; (e) the English MS. of Parker signed by the Bishops in Convocation in 1571; and (f) one Latin and one English edition printed by Jugge and Cawood in 1571. It should be added that the documents in the Parker Library do not in all probability present us with the ultimate form of the Articles in which they finally stood when passed by the Convocation *and* the Crown, because of their slovenly condition, because they were lodged in a private repository and because they are deficient in tokens which invariably appear in acts and instruments royally approved.¹

III. Dr. Makower enters upon a difficult part of his path when he passes to the 'relation of the Church of England to other Christian Churches,' when he considers the relation of the reformed Church of England both to the Church in England before the Reformation (p. 174) and also to 'other Christian Churches of modern times' (p. 177). With regard to the first of these topics Dr. Makower speaks justly and briefly. He says that the contention that the development of the Reformation period was in uninterrupted connexion with the past needs considerable limitations, both as regards the form and matter of the changes made. There was certainly a legal breach ('Rechtbruch') with the central power at Rome, involving, in Dr. Makower's opinion, a fundamental change in the constitution of the Church, while at the same time 'the ecclesiastical offices in the country—except as affected by the dissolution of the monasteries—remained nearly unaltered' (p. 176). Dr. Makower has not made nearly sufficient allowance for the fact that in pre-Reformation times the English Church, so far from placidly admitting the authority of 'the central power' at Rome, was perpetually struggling against its usurpations. We are still more seriously dissatisfied with Dr. Makower's discussion of the relation of the Church of England to other Christian bodies, especially in regard to the fact that episcopacy is essential. An ambiguous use of the word 'Church' runs through the whole section; but as this is involved in the question of Episcopacy, we need not make separate comments upon it. It will be best to state the full case of the Church of England, and notice the defects and errors of Dr. Makower as we proceed. The Thirty-nine

¹ Compare Browne on Article XX. § 1.

Articles supply much satisfactory information on the matter. The nineteenth Article, which tells us what the Church really is, and which Dr. Makower relegates to a footnote (p. 177), contains the provision that in the Church the Sacraments are 'duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.' The twenty-third Article speaks of a minister being 'lawfully called and sent,' and describes what that means in phrases which Dr. Makower considers 'applicable also to a non-episcopal constitution' (p. 179). The twenty-sixth Article says that Christ's ministers 'do minister by His commission and authority,' and Article XXXII. uses in the Latin title the word *sacerdotum*. Article XXXVI. is very careful to point out what persons are to be regarded as rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered. If we pass to the Ember prayers we find no allusion to anyone except 'the Bishops and Pastors of Christ's flock' as competent to ordain men to any holy function, and God is said of His 'divine providence' to have 'appointed divers orders in' His Church. In agreement with this statement the preface to the ordinal—containing a proposition about the sacred ministry which Dr. Makower says is not historically sound, at least without limitation (p. 179)—expressly declares that the old orders are to be 'continued and reverently used and esteemed in the Church of England,' and as expressly excludes all so-called ministers who have not been ordained by bishops. The fact is, that Dr. Makower's own admissions are sufficient to show that he is entirely mistaken in supposing that the Church of England has left episcopacy an open question. He admits that a Roman priest is not re-ordained when he passes over to the Church of England (p. 181, note 13), although he does not correlate with this the significant fact, that all the so-called ministers of non-episcopal bodies are treated simply as laymen, except to say that this view has 'no support in the fundamental laws of the Church of England' (p. 182). Yet he immediately quotes 14 Car. II. (1662) c. 4, which declares that no benefice shall be held by any such non-episcopal minister, and confesses that this is still the law of the land. It is not worth while to go into Dr. Makower's conception of the 'apparent discrepancy' of speaking of one Catholic Church, and then of 'every particular or national Church,' except to say that the means which Dr. Makower supposes the Church of England to have taken to reconcile the discrepancy are new to us, and excite our wonder as to their historical base (p. 178). Nor need we point out in detail

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what our readers will easily see for themselves, how erroneous are many of the comments on the words 'Catholic' and 'Protestant' on p. 178, note 5. This whole section is a strange muddle, in contrast to much luminous exposition in some other parts of the book. The chapter which follows on procedure against heretics contains a good summary of many various enactments and proceedings, but does not allude to the cumbrous and old-fashioned methods by which unfortunate University preachers may be delated before boards of heresy.¹

IV. The fourth part of the work is entitled 'The Clergy and their Orders,' and is not by any means so comprehensive as this heading would lead us to expect. It opens with a few general remarks on the preliminary steps which must be taken by candidates for Holy Orders. The blunt statement that 'there is no sacrament of orders' (p. 196) requires much modification, and from a remark made about Archbishop Wake on p. 198 we infer that Dr. Makower is not aware that the *Si quis* is read in all cases. Another passage on p. 199 seems to show that he does not appreciate the present elastic interpretation of the technical phrase a 'competent' bishop in our English ordination practice. The next ramifications of the subject introduce the reader to the 'participation of the clergy in the deliberations of Parliament' and the 'history of the celibacy of the clergy.' Dr. Makower enables us to take a rapid glance at the historical position of the Bishops in the House of Lords, which is a matter of which many Churchmen have rather vague ideas. A footnote on p. 211 speaks of the frequent proposals made to exclude the Bishops, but curiously limits them to an early decade of this century. It is also a defect in the account of the relation of the clergy to the House of Commons, that nothing is said in the comment on the Clerical Disabilities Act to show that those who avail themselves of it are considered in popular ecclesiastical estimation to be men who have turned back when they have put their hand to the plough (p. 211). The numerous items of evidence collected upon the celibacy of the clergy provide a strong proof, if proof be needed, of the wisdom of the prevailing practice of the Anglican branch of the Church.

V. The discussion on 'the several Authorities in the Church' occupies a large part of the whole book (pp. 225-464), and is a comprehensive if not quite an exhaustive re-

¹ See the witty description by Dr. Mozley on the occasion of Dr. Pusey's sermon (*Essays Historical and Theological*, ii. 151).

view of the subject. Our author begins with the king, and explores the range of the royal supremacy both in mediæval and in Reformation times. The mediæval period receives fuller treatment than the later period, for in it the king's power has to be reviewed in relation both to foreign influences and also the National Church. In the matter of appeals to Rome, Wilfrid's appeal against Theodore and Egfrid is very properly mentioned first, for Wilfrid was in this matter the true forerunner of Anselm, as Anselm was of many subsequent appellants.¹ Dr. Makower is careful to notice that the early appeals were not made to an authority acknowledged on all sides, but rather to a foreign power whose decisions would not be likely to be recognized, and as a matter of fact were not recognized, by the non-appealing party in the suit (p. 226). The case of Anselm does not receive so full a treatment as its importance demands (p. 226, note 6), but there are useful paragraphs on the restrictions imposed on Papal legates, the introduction of bulls, and the departure of ecclesiastics from the kingdom (pp. 232-239). Within the sphere of the National Church, the action of the king is traced as he now resisted and now co-operated in matters of legislation, jurisdiction, military service, taxation, the rights of appointment, and the acquisition of property by the Church (pp. 241-251). 'From the end of the twelfth century, at latest, down to the Reformation, no claim was ever made by any king, or in any resolution of Parliament, that England was in purely ecclesiastical matters independent of the Pope' (p. 251). The discussion of the supremacy of the sovereign as introduced by the Reformation is a meagre section, which calls for no special criticism, but when we come to 'the civil Authorities for the Administration of the Church' we have careful accounts of the High Commission for ecclesiastical causes, the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, and the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for England (pp. 260-271). In the next section Dr. Makower reaches the definite ecclesiastical authorities. Some account is given of the origin of the various sees, in which the brief episode of the elevation of the see of Lichfield to the dignity of an archbishopric, and the establishment of the six new sees of St. Albans, Truro, Liverpool, Newcastle, Southwell, and Wakefield, are not omitted (pp. 275, 281). But Dr. Makower's record is too much compressed to allow room for many of the changes which important districts of the country experienced in the redistribu-

¹ For Dr. Church's estimate of St. Anselm's action in this matter, see his *Saint Anselm*, p. 223.

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tion of episcopal authority. We have to pursue the references in the footnotes, and to supplement them from other sources too, before we can fairly clear up the episcopal history of such places as Dunwich, Elmham, Sidnacester (Stow), Selsey, Sherborne, and Ramsbury.¹ A good section on the 'History of the Precedence of the Archbishop of Canterbury as against the Archbishop of York' accumulates more illustrations of that unhappy and not always very creditable dispute than we remember to have seen brought together hitherto so compactly.²

The following sections take into consideration the rights and duties of Archbishops and Bishops, their relation to chapters, and the officials who assist their Diocesan in the exercise of governing powers, or in confirming, ordaining, and consecrating, or in both of these kinds of function, or who are empowered to administer the affairs of the see during a vacancy (pp. 294-316). Descending in the scale of dignitaries there come the archdeacons, no special section being devoted to deans, and the account of archidiaconal functions is as clear as can be expected on such a proverbially hazy subject. The rural deans follow, and then the parish priests, with explanations of the technical differences between rectors, vicars, and similar titles. Under this head and under the next section on stipendiary curates, the relation of a curate in the common meaning of that term both to bishop and incumbent is fully defined (pp. 321-40). The subject of 'Lecturers' considered on p. 351 should properly have been placed here, before the lay workers are described—readers, deaconesses, members of sisterhoods and brotherhoods, churchwardens, parish clerks, sextons, beadles, and organists (pp. 340-50). Here there are one or two criticisms which must be made. The office of the sexton as now retained is certainly not, as Dr. Makower says in his text while referring to a contrary opinion in a note, his freehold. To include the beadle moreover in the list of minor officials, and to say that he is paid out of the Church rate, is very misleading to anyone who does not already know that the office of 'the messenger of the parish' is practically obsolete, and that Church rates are happily or unhappily

¹ The diocese of Winchester was divided into Winchester and Ramsbury in 909. There were ten Bishops of Ramsbury, of whom three, Odo, Siric, and Elfric, became Archbishops of Canterbury. The last of the ten, Herman by name, was chaplain of Edward the Confessor. Ramsbury was the mother church of the diocese of Salisbury.

² Some supplementary data of interest in connexion with this subject may be seen in the new and revised edition of Landon, *A Manual of Councils of the Holy Catholic Church*, in which the councils are alphabetically arranged. See under the heads of London and Westminster.

quite a thing of the past. Many of the ecclesiastical officials whose duties have been considered in those sections of the work which we have now passed under review are still further discussed in the section on ecclesiastical assemblies which occupies pp. 352-82. It contains an historical summary on national and provincial synods, and a correct reference to the houses of laymen as existing 'in close connexion' with the Convocations of Canterbury and York, 'but not as a part of' them (p. 377). The constitution of diocesan synods and conferences and ruridecanal chapters follows. We hardly think that justice has been done to ruridecanal chapters either by Dr. Makower or, we must add, by the Bishops who take an interest in their younger clergy. The younger clergy often complain that they are not duly represented in Convocation, and have no means of making their voice heard. And if they forget that the ruridecanal chapter is an assembly where every facility is given for free discussion and in which it is their duty to take part, it is in some degree because the duty of exercising their rights by regular attendance and discussion is not plainly put before them on the eve of their ordination. If their attention were more generally called to this duty, ruridecanal chapters would be better attended and matters which the bishops are anxious to ventilate would be better discussed than is often the case at present. It is instructive also to observe, in days when no two or three clergymen seem to be free to meet together without having four or five laymen to assist them in their deliberations, that the presence of laymen at ruridecanal chapters is forbidden in a mandate of Archbishop Peckham in 1286 (p. 383, n. 4). The last subject discussed in the body of the work is that of Ecclesiastical Courts. It is a careful attempt to elucidate the way in which the exercise of jurisdiction has been divided between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities in the successive stages of English Church history, and Dr. Makower provides some valuable materials to open the eyes of those who think that pre-Reformation jurisdiction over the Church was solely ecclesiastical and post-Reformation chiefly civil (pp. 384-456). It is necessary to inquire to what extent ecclesiastical persons took part in the business of civil courts as a prelude to the consideration of the competence of ecclesiastical courts proper respecting both persons and causes, and Dr. Makower does this in the Anglo-Saxon and Danish periods, then from the Conquest to the Reformation, and then to the present day. After this historical account there are brief allusions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the provincial courts, the courts of

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audience, the prerogative courts, and the episcopal, archidiaconal, and other smaller ecclesiastical courts¹ (pp. 456-464). The lengthy appendix is a valuable addition to the book (pp. 465-536). It includes extracts from many important documents, charters, articles, canons, and historical papers. A conspectus of literature is given (p. 504) which furnishes us with a list of collections of documents, works on Church history—divided into chronicles, twelfth to fourteenth century law books and legal treatises, and modern books—works on ecclesiastical law, authorities on parts of Church law and history, and lastly statistical books, lists of cathedrals, monasteries, bishops, &c. We cannot but smile when we find that the indefatigable energy of a German author will not part with the reader till he has placed before him in the familiar table of our childhood the Kings of England from the Norman Conquest to the present day with their dates. There should also be a list of the Archbishops of Canterbury. We miss allusions to Mr. J. R. Green's historical works, and find double forms of several names, such as Theodorus and Theodore. The index is full, but perplexing. A mere reference to the page in all cases would have been better than sectional reference in some cases and paginal reference in others. As we leave the book we desire to pay hearty tribute to the industry of the author, and to express our wonder that he has been able to enter so successfully into many of the peculiarities of English ecclesiastical life. If we have found many slight and a few serious defects, we can still say that the bulk of the work contains materials of very considerable value, and that Dr. Makower has rendered a signal service to the student of Church history.²

¹ It is well to supplement this part of Dr. Makower's work by references to the judgment upon the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court delivered on May 11, 1889, reviewed in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1889 (No. 57, p. 137), where metropolitical jurisdiction is discussed.

² For the spirit in which such materials should be perused, see Dr. Bright's *Waymarks in Church History*, pp. 1-19, 'On the Study of Church History,' and the extremely valuable remarks of Bishop Ellicott in the Second Series of *Foundations of Sacred Study*, p. 198.

ART. VI.—BISHOP ELLICOTT ON THE STUDIES OF THE CLERGY.

Foundations of Sacred Study. Second Series. Seven Addresses by C. J. ELLICOTT, D.D., Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Hon. Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, author of *Christus Comprobator*, &c. (London, 1895.)

BISHOP ELLICOTT has frequently done good service to the Church by his episcopal Charges. Not to go back further than the year 1890, he has published three of these in a convenient form for wide circulation, under the titles of *Salutary Doctrine*, *Christus Comprobator*, and the first series of *Foundations of Sacred Study*. The recently published second series of *Foundations of Sacred Study* contains his Charge for 1895.

It will be remembered that in the first series of these *Foundations* the Bishop expressed a gloomy view of the religious education given by the Church of England, commented on the lessening amount of care bestowed by the clergy on the work of visiting and teaching in elementary schools and the training of pupil teachers, and pointed out the altogether inadequate character of the treatment of children of the upper and middle classes. He went on to show that there were indications of no little apathy on the part of the clergy, and to question their capacity as a body to instruct in such a way as the circumstances of the present time require.

These considerations led the Bishop to emphasize the need of study, and to mention five subjects of high importance—namely, Holy Scripture, Christian Doctrine, Christian Ethics, Biblical History and Archæology, and Church History. In the first series of *Foundations of Sacred Study*, delivered as his Charge for 1893, he dealt with the first two of these subjects.

In his Charge for 1895 Bishop Ellicott repeats the complaint which he made in 1893, and declares that the evidence upon which he relied for his description of the 'ignorance' 'of the very first principles of religious knowledge' among children of the upper and middle classes as 'startling and deplorable' has not been, to his knowledge, 'impugned in any particular' (pp. 7-8). He then goes on to the three of the five subjects which he previously postponed.

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of England than the capacity and willingness of the clergy to instruct their people, old and young, in Christian doctrine and life. It is a matter for great thankfulness that the Sacramental powers of the priesthood have of late years received far wider recognition among ourselves than was formerly the case. Such recognition ought to lead to a fuller appreciation of the truth often expressed in the phrase '*labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam.*'

It may be worth while to recall how large a part of the work of the Christian ministry consists of teaching of various kinds. There are children and young people of the upper, middle, and lower classes, all of whom ought, by means of such methods as are under differing circumstances possible, to be taught the main truths of the Christian faith and the outlines of moral duty. There are our general congregations, many among whom are altogether dependent on what they hear from the clergy for any true impressions of doctrine or any really well-founded views of life. There are the intelligent persons in every class who, either because of a wish for fuller instruction or because of perplexities which have become present in their minds, seek for help as to what they ought to believe and do. All these have claims for positive teaching. And there is the work, which, perhaps more often in an indirect than in a direct form, is widely needed, of defending the inspiration of the Bible, the truth of Christian doctrine, the soundness of Church principles, and the obligations of the moral law against prevalent misconceptions and specific attacks. When we have added the task of guiding individuals to see how the teaching of Holy Scripture and the law of Christ may be used by them to promote their growth in holiness, it is obvious how great a work, in the way of instruction only, is laid upon the clergy.

It must not be thought that the spread of education, and the general increase in knowledge which may be hoped for as a result lessen in any degree the responsibilities of the clergy. The truth is rather in an opposite direction. The less ignorant the people, the more they will need to be taught. And every advance in secular education becomes a danger instead of a new opportunity unless the accredited teachers of the Church of Christ are ready and able to teach, with corresponding progress, the truths of the Faith. History will demand of the clergy of the Church of England whether they accepted the responsibility and were equal to the emergency of the present age.

The subjects to which Bishop Ellicott directed the atten-

tion of his clergy in the work now before us are, as we have already stated, Christian Ethics, Biblical History and Archaeology, and Church History. There can be no question that the study of Christian Ethics is a duty for the clergy, the claim of which comes after Holy Scripture and Dogmatic Theology only. Like them, it requires a life-long study. If, in all the complexities of modern life, the voice of spiritual teachers is to give no uncertain sound, ethical problems must have been faced and to some extent mastered. We hope we are wrong in our opinion that it is only a very small proportion of the clergy who have even attempted any serious study of the subject.

In Ethics, as in everything else, the really profitable work is that which a man does for himself. The rare wisdom of a passage in the writings of George Herbert must be our excuse if we inflict on some of our readers a quotation which they have known all their lives. In speaking of 'the Parson's accessory knowledges,' he says :

'The Country Parson hath read the Fathers also, and the Schoolmen, and the later Writers, or a good proportion of all, out of which he hath compiled a Book and Body of Divinity, which is the storehouse of his Sermons, and which he preacheth all his Life ; but diversely clothed, illustrated, and enlarged. For though the world is full of such composures, yet every man's own is fittest, readiest, and most savoury to him. Besides, this being to be done in his younger and preparatory times, it is an honest joy ever after to look upon his well-spent hours.'¹

What Herbert here says chiefly with reference to Dogma is no less applicable to Ethics.

In practice, however, it will be found that if a considerable number of the clergy are to have real knowledge of ethical subjects, they must use elementary handbooks to begin with. Herein lies the value of the three Addresses on Christian Ethics which form part of the volume under review. Bishop Ellicott gives with admirable clearness an outline of an ethical system which is capable of great expansion. Without disguising his indebtedness to the treatises on the subject by Bishop Martensen and Dr. Dörner, and still more to the sermons of Bishop Butler, the Addresses bear the marks of the Bishop's independent and original and careful thought. As a guide in beginning the study of Christian Ethics they are likely to be valuable both to the clergy and to candidates for ordination.

Bishop Ellicott does not depreciate 'Natural Ethics' in

¹ Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple*, chap. v.

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its right place. Had he done so, we must have attempted to cross swords with him. The usefulness of the thoughtful reading of the heathen philosophers is great. Many an Oxford man, whose ignorance of Christian Ethics as a science is deep, has been helped to no small extent because Aristotle made a mark upon his mind. But the Bishop shows clearly that 'Natural Ethics' is inadequate for the work of the Christian priest. Such systems differ 'from Christian Ethics, not in the way of antagonism, but of defect' (p. 45).

Christian Ethics, then, depends upon the truth of the Christian religion. The sphere of Moral Theology does not begin until the principles of Dogmatic Theology have been laid down. The laws of Christian conduct are the laws of man as a citizen of a kingdom of Christ. In following out this line of thought Bishop Ellicott mentions the 'foundation truths' which are 'supplied' 'by Christian doctrine' (p. 53)—the dogmas which refer to God as a personal Being, to the Holy Trinity, to the Divine Love, to man in his nature by creation and his nature as distorted by the Fall, and to the Person and work of our Lord. The starting point for the development of Christian Ethics is found in the consideration of the highest good as communion with God, and the restoration of this communion is traced out in the work of love within the soul. The manifestation of love results in the virtues of the Christian life, and the realization of the highest good itself is made possible by means of the devotional study of Holy Scripture, Prayer, and the Holy Communion.

Here and there a statement occurs which we are disposed to criticize. We doubt whether the tripartite division of the soul is so well supported as the view of the relation between the soul and the spirit which was advocated by, among the Schoolmen, St. Thomas Aquinas,¹ and has been accepted in modern times by Dr. Delitzsch² and Dr. Liddon.³ We are more inclined to interpret the *vivi* in 1 Cor. xiii. 13 as marking a summarized conclusion than as a note of time.⁴

¹ St. Thomas Aquinas, *S. T. I.* lxxvi. 3.

² Delitzsch, *System of Biblical Psychology*, pp. 103-19 (English translation).

³ Liddon, *Some Elements of Religion*, pp. 89-91.

⁴ There is a note on the logical use of *viv* in Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul from Unpublished Commentaries*, pp. 113-14. Bishop Lightfoot, however, agrees with Bishop Ellicott that in 1 Cor. xiii. 13 the use is temporal; *ib.* pp. 10, 11. See, however, Godet *in loco*. We notice that Bishop Ellicott, in writing the passage on p. 96, referred to above, has changed his opinion since the publication of his Commentary on 1 Corinthians, in which he interpreted the *vivi* as logical.

We do not quite know what the Bishop means when he says that the will of man was 'unchangeably Godward' 'prior to the Fall' (p. 69).

Bishop Ellicott would be quick to say that the purpose of these Addresses would not be served unless they should lead students of the subject to work on a more extended scale and to the application of principles to the details of life. For an introduction to such further study they are, in our judgment, admirably adapted both by their clearness and by their accuracy.

There are two Addresses on Biblical History and Archaeology. This subject, always important, has an added importance because of the circumstances of the present time. One result of the critical study of the Old Testament has been a wide unsettlement of thought with regard to it. This evil has been intensified by the unwise attitude taken up by some English Churchmen. It is a necessity that Christian teachers should be able to show that there are results of scientific investigation the tendency of which is to corroborate the Old Testament, and should be able to afford real help to the very many persons, themselves incapable of investigating such questions, who are perplexed by much which they read and hear.

Most readers who have given thought to the subject will agree with Bishop Ellicott in his statement that the period assigned by the ordinary chronology to the time which elapsed between the Fall and the Incarnation must be materially enlarged, and that the Flood is to be regarded as not having necessarily extended into the parts of the earth unknown to 'the writers, sacred or profane, who tell us' (p. 132) about it. Whether the treatment of these two points is adequate, even for a book on so small a scale as the *Foundations of Sacred Study*, is, we think, doubtful. But the accounts which follow of the empires of Babylonia, Egypt, and Assyria are very valuable, and represent in a compressed form what are evidently the results of careful and extensive study. We are not acquainted with any other work from which the student may so well learn the outlines of this department of history which should form the basis of future investigations as it is easy for him to do from Bishop Ellicott's Addresses.

We may place together two passages, one from the introductory Address and the other from the second Address on Biblical History and Archaeology, as indicative of the Bishop's standpoint on this important matter :

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'We may rightly direct the attention of the student not only to the numerous verifications of the leading features of the inspired narrative, which are now supplied to us by the results of modern research, but also to the striking accuracy with which the many habits and customs of Egyptian life alluded to in the narrative, and now known to us by monumental disclosure, are portrayed by the inspired writer. Nothing can be more completely evidential of the truth of this portion of God's Holy Word than this close agreement between the statements we find in it and the facts which, in the providence of God, have become known to us by independent discovery' (p. 173).

'Just when light has been needed; just when the tendency to explain away the supernatural has become more and more perilously manifested; just when the trustworthiness of Holy Scripture has, in consequence, been more persistently called into question; just at this most critical time steady light has been vouchsafed; and the Book which on every page reveals the supernatural, and is permeated by its influence, is proved by marvellously disclosed testimony to be trustworthy and verifiable in every particular to which this testimony has been found to extend. This is confessedly in the domain of human history; but such verifications leave on every fair mind the enduring impression that if some further additions to our knowledge should be vouchsafed to us, the trustworthiness of the Sacred Narrative, now proved in reference to the details of human history, would be found to be equally demonstrable in reference to the supernatural and to the divine.

'It is simply impossible to deny the complete reasonableness of such a presumption; and the more so when, as in the present case, some verifications of the supernatural can be elicited from the facts that have already become known to us. At any rate, the simply marvellous nature, when properly considered, of the discoveries that have been made within this present century, and more particularly within the past generation, read to us two solemn and instructive lessons: First, to place no reliance on assertions or hypotheses, in connexion with Biblical History, which are based on the assumption that the supernatural has no rightful place in the history of the past, and that its presence is incompatible with trustworthiness: Secondly, to learn to be patient, and to wait. . . . There is always a temptation in clever minds to take the lead in the developments of modern thought, to act as guides to the benighted, and to reconcile the spirit of the past and its ecclesiastical estimate of the authority of Holy Scripture with the postulates of a novel theology. But the temptation, fascinating as it may appear, must be steadily resisted. . . . If only the so-called Higher Criticism could be content slowly to rectify instead of attempting over-hastily to revolutionize, to suspend its efforts to reconstruct on precarious hypotheses, to give up its latent convictions of the incredibility of many records of the supernatural, and to deal with Holy Scripture with that reverence which our Lord's authentication of it indisputably demands, then Higher Criticism need never be feared, whether "pathetically" or otherwise. It would assume its

rightful position. It would be the patient handmaiden in the now really necessary work of testing and arranging our stores of rapidly accumulating knowledge, rather than the self-constituted guide to new views and estimates of old truths which this accumulating knowledge is, year by year, plainly showing to be either baseless or illusory' (pp. 18-21).

The last Address in the book, the subject of which is Church History, is of a different character from those on Christian Ethics and Biblical History and Archæology. The object of it is described as being

'to endeavour to awaken some fresh interest in the subject, and to give some passing guidance as the most hopeful mode of rescuing it from the neglect into which it has fallen in the case of, I fear, the greater part of our clerical brethren' (p. 198).

Certainly, many of the problems with which the clergy have to deal need the elucidation which may be given to them from the history of the Church. Whatever the future may have in store, the course of modern legislation is all the time calling for readjustments of the relations of Church and State, opinions about which can be formed safely only by those who have studied the past. The present controversy about the laws of marriage will hardly be viewed rightly by those who have no knowledge of the desperate struggle for morality through which the Church has at times passed, and of the practical grounds of the conviction which underlies the legislation of Western Christendom. The task whether of resisting the undue claims of the Papacy or of moving towards corporate reunion on Catholic principles, requires both the knowledge which careful study of history gives and the judgment which results from experience in weighing the reality and the influence of events. These are but instances of the need of knowledge of history which meet us at every turn.

The treatment of such questions cannot be limited to a few highly trained minds. Great learning and mental cultivation have their special tasks with regard to them. But the rank and file of the clergy ought to have acquired the temper of mind with which these matters can be profitably approached, and it is imperative, if they are to fulfil their function as teachers, that they should be able to speak about them so as both to receive attention and to deserve it.

There are few students who will not sympathize with Bishop Ellicott's appeal for a more scientific treatment of the early history of the Church. Facts of profound significance have too often been treated in such a way as to appear either repellent or commonplace. The want of proper grouping has

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often concealed what it should have been the business of the historian to reveal. A really luminous history of the early Christian centuries would be a most valuable boon.

We desire to call attention to the Bishop's remarks on the Acts of the Apostles:

'In reference to the first period, the primary duty of the student will be slowly and carefully to read, with the best helps and commentaries that can be obtained, a portion of Holy Scripture, which I do not think receives the close attention which a book, that has been rightly called the Gospel of the Holy Ghost, most assuredly deserves at the hands of the faithful student of Church History. I am, of course, alluding to the Acts of the Apostles. In this holy and instructive portion of the Word of God, supplemented, as it will naturally be, by references to the whole portion of Holy Scripture that comes after it, we have the true foundations of Church History. The dominant truth is the immanent working of the Holy Ghost in the proclamation and diffusion of the Gospel—a vital truth, ever to be borne in mind in those periods of Church History when, to the superficial reader and thinker, it might seem as if the passions and contentions of men were thwarting every movement of grace, and putting, as it were, in abeyance the Spirit's providential government of the Church.

'This is the great truth; but with it we learn the second and subordinate truth, that the operation of the Spirit varies in the component communities that make up the Catholic Church, and that if we would attempt to realize the real progress of the Church of Christ, we must study the developments in the various local Churches, and especially in those that were planted, or believed to have been planted, by the Apostles of Christ' (pp. 210-11).

There are persons who seem to imagine that a true part of the Church of Christ must be faultless. It might be well for them to consider the inferences which may be drawn from the last paragraph which we have quoted.

The promises of Christ to His Church are indeed tremendous, and the representations of the Church in the New Testament generally are no less wonderful. But the fulness of the promises, and a great part of what is declared, apply only to the whole body. To assume that, because the Church of Christ cannot err, therefore an error of any kind would at once sever a branch of the Church from the covenanted grace of God, is to admit a confusion of thought as disastrous as it is illogical. As was well said by the theologian Möhler:

'No individual, as such, reaches this infallibility, for the Catholic always regards the individual only as a member of the whole, as living and breathing in it.

'The Church is the Body of the Lord. She is, in her totality,

His visible form, His abiding ever self-renewing Humanity, His perpetual revelation. In the whole He rests unbroken. To the whole all His promises and all His gifts have been bequeathed.¹

The Bishop's remarks on the need of some acquaintance with secular history as preparatory to the study of the history of the Church, on the value of careful observation of the particular characteristics of the various parts of the Church taken in connexion with the biographies of the great men whose lives are recorded, and on the line of thought which runs through the period of the great Councils, are deserving of close attention. It is of importance that students should realize the relative value of the actions and policy of different individuals and of different communities, and that the extent to which the heresies successively prominent in the fourth and fifth centuries were due to the reactions of human thought. The lessons to be learned from the first six centuries are, indeed, innumerable. They will escape notice unless a truer conception of the study of the history prevails than has hitherto frequently been the case.

Slight, then, as is the Bishop's treatment of his last subject, we cannot regard it as being of little importance. Rather, it would be of great service to the Church of England to lead in any degree to a better appreciation of what the teaching of history really is.

The question may present itself to some minds whether a scholar and theologian of the learning and eminence of Bishop Ellicott does well to exhibit the results of study and thought in so unassuming and contracted a form as the little books which have been the outcome of his various Charges to his clergy. And there is always something a little disappointing in reading short, clear statements of results by a capable writer, and not being allowed to see the processes of mind and the accumulations of facts which it is perceived must lie behind them. But we gather from many indications in these little volumes that the Bishop has a practical end in view for the sake of which he has thought it worth while to spend the necessary thought and labour on such very unpretentious works. It is evidently his object to do what he can to raise the standard of clerical study and clerical knowledge, and consequently of clerical efficiency, in the first instance in the diocese of Gloucester and Bristol, though also elsewhere. These small handbooks, then, are designed to make the study which is his aim an easier task both for those who have already been ordained and for candidates for ordination. In

¹ Möhler, *Symbolism*, §§ 37, 38.

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our recognition of the importance of this practical point we must be content to bear the loss which we feel it to be that Bishop Ellicott has not treated some of the subjects of his Charges on a scale and in a method which would have been of great usefulness to more advanced students, and which would have produced books which might have been fitted to take their place by the side of his admirable commentaries on parts of the New Testament.

While this second series of *Foundations of Sacred Study* is a handbook such as we have described, it has other features. And in contrast to the attitude of writers who seem to be afraid to take up not only express opinions on points that are really doubtful, of which there are many, but also a clear attitude on matters where loyalty to our Lord and to His Church are more or less directly involved, it is a pleasure to read the passage with which Bishop Ellicott ends his useful book:

'We have . . . closed with a short connected sketch of the General Councils as the best concluding comment we could make on the great spiritual importance of Church History. In the controversies which called forth those Councils we see much that is distressing, much that is humiliating; but we cannot fail to see also how, in the great fight for the Faith, it was permitted that every argument that the subtlety of man could urge against the truth, as it is in Jesus, should be set forth, considered, refuted, and condemned. The long indictment had been made, and Church History tells us how conclusively it has been answered.

'May God the Holy Ghost quicken us all to lay these things more to heart, and to follow the spirit of the old defenders of the Faith, if not in every aspect, yet ever in this—to make no compromises in vital matters. The present world believes in and exults in compromise; but if there be one truth more than another that is impressed upon us by the long history of the Church it is this—that the Faith once for all delivered to the saints can never be maintained by compromise. What would the Faith of the Church now be—if, indeed, such a term as "faith" would not be a misnomer—if any of the compromises that were suggested in the Arian and Monophysite controversies had been formally accepted? But we need not dwell on such a question, for it involves a conception that is practically inconceivable. Let us rather dwell with deepening thankfulness on the good fight that has been fought, and pray for strength to bear our own part in it bravely and heartily, to maintain the faith of Nice and of Chalcedon, and to illustrate it by a life agreeable to the same—humbly, temperately, steadfastly, and consistently, even unto the end' (pp. 227-8.)

ART. VII.—RAE'S 'LIFE OF ADAM SMITH.'

The Life of Adam Smith. By JOHN RAE. (London and New York, 1895.)

THE lives of eminent men require to be periodically rewritten. As the classics have to be re-edited and retranslated from time to time, owing either to fresh light thrown upon them by the wider range of modern scholarship or from discovery of new manuscripts, so is it with biographies. The earlier memoirs, however valuable as coming from contemporaries, or those who were nearly so, demand a fuller and a different treatment with reference to the more recent problems that have arisen since their age. Their work has to be judged by its outcome and fruit in a subsequent generation. Or it may be that actually new materials, inaccessible to the original biographer, have come to light which modify the former estimate. Our time has seen numerous instances of such renewed biographies, and has generally been the gainer by them. After more than a century since the publication of Middleton's *Cicero*, which had monopolized the field during that period, Mr. Forsyth might well deem that the advanced state of scholarship and Roman history called for another Life; and now, after thirty years, yet another has been produced by Mr. Strachan Davidson. We have had fresh memoirs of Wesley by Overton, and of Laud by Benson. Nor have the later studies been superfluous.

This *Life of Adam Smith*, by Mr. John Rae, is fully justified on the grounds mentioned above. For in the first place it is over a hundred years since Dugald Stewart read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, on two evenings, his memoir, which he afterwards published as a separate work in 1810, while during this interval many particulars about Smith—as Mr. Rae tells us in his preface—and a number of his letters, have incidentally and by very scattered channels found their way into print. The University authorities at Glasgow and at Edinburgh, as well as the Council of the Royal Society at the latter city, have granted every facility for the use of all that bears on Smith's career, and other sources of hitherto unpublished information are specified by the author. Again, it was most desirable that the doctrines enforced by Adam Smith in the *Wealth of Nations* should be examined and judged by their fruits, and that their value should be more clearly set forth in the light of the changes witnessed in the

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world of politics and of commerce in the last century, and especially during the last fifty years—since the repeal of the corn laws, when free trade has become so firmly established that even when agriculture has been brought to its lowest depths, very few, if any, are bold enough to advocate a return to the principles of protection. On the ground, then, both of fresh sources accessible to the biographer, and of the striking spectacle of one great feature of our time regarded as largely the outcome of his opinions, the life of Adam Smith deserved a fuller treatment than it had yet received.

Adam Smith was born at Kirkcaldy, in the county of Fife, June 5, 1723. His father, who bore the same Christian name, and who died a short time before the birth of his only child, had been a comptroller of the customs, and Smith himself became late in life a commissioner of customs, curiously enough, as Mr. Rae remarks, since he was to do so much towards sweeping away the whole system. He was a delicate child, and when four years old was stolen by a passing band of gipsies, but almost immediately rescued. His affection for his mother was the most beautiful feature of his life. It was said that there were three avenues to his heart—his mother, his books, and his political opinions, but his mother always came first. She was the daughter of John Douglas of Strathendry, a considerable landed proprietor, and she lived to her ninetieth year. Smith never recovered from the shock of her death, and survived her only six years.

Growing stronger in health, the boy was sent to the Burgh School at Kirkcaldy, where he remained till he reached the age of nineteen. His master, Mr. David Millar, had made a name in his profession. He wrote a play, and his pupils acted in it, a practice not uncommon at that date, and of which Mr. Rae gives several instances. But it might be traced two centuries further back; for we are reminded of Udall, head master of Eton (1534–1543), who wrote Latin plays to be acted by his boys in the long winter nights, and is styled by Hallam, from his *Ralph Royster Doister*, the father of English comedy. The period of his school life at Kirkcaldy is interesting, as having probably given Smith his very earliest rough ideas of the division of labour in the naileries, which he was fond of visiting, a business from which he in fact drew some of his illustrations of that subject in his great work.

At the age of fourteen Smith entered Glasgow College and studied there classics, mathematics and moral philosophy

under three very stimulating and inspiring professors—Dunlop, Simson, and Hutcheson. For Simson, the translator of Euclid and the author of a monograph on his lost books of corollaries and deductions (*προπαρα*), mentioned by Proclus, Smith always felt the highest veneration; and on his return to Glasgow as professor they used to meet regularly at 'Mr. Robin Simson's Club,' and it was at one of these weekly entertainments that the mathematician sang a Latin hymn, apparently of his own composition, to the Divine Geometer. But it was Hutcheson, the father—or at least the reviver—of metaphysical philosophy in Scotland, who of the three left the most enduring mark on Adam Smith. His lectures were most impressive and original. Hutcheson was the first to employ the term 'moral sense of the conscience,' and it was he who first coined the celebrated phrase, 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.' Mr. Rae points out that not a few of the distinctive doctrines of Smith's system, both in ethics and economics, are directly traceable to his teaching. But to this we shall have occasion to refer later on. Among Smith's fellow-collegians the only ones known to us are Dr. MacLaine, the translator of Mosheim, and Dr. Matthew Stewart (the father of Dugald Stewart), afterwards Professor of Mathematics. It was at this period that he was first brought into relations with his lifelong friend Hume (though their intimacy dates from several years later), by writing an abstract of the *Treatise of Human Nature*, with which Hume was so pleased that he sent a copy of the work to young Smith.

From Glasgow Smith proceeded to Oxford in June 1740, having been appointed one of the Snell exhibitioners at Balliol. Among Scotsmen of mark who have held this exhibition were Sir William Hamilton, Lockhart, Archbishop Tait, and Lord President Inglis, and in more recent times John Young Sellar and Andrew Lang. He rode the whole distance on horseback, and from the day that he arrived till that on which he left the University, in August 1746, he never once left the place, a journey to Scotland in the vacation being in those days too serious and expensive an undertaking. Nor (it is sad to relate) did his *Alma Mater* ever after take any notice of him, or even offer him a doctor's degree, when he had proved himself one of her most distinguished sons.

In truth, Oxford at this period was at her nadir. No reader of Gibbon's *Autobiography* can forget his scathing sentences:—

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p. 2.

'To the University of Oxford I acknowledge no obligation. . . . The greater part of the public professors have for these many years given up altogether even the pretence of teaching. . . . From the toil of reading or thinking or writing the fellows had absolved their conscience, and the first shoots of learning and ingenuity withered on the ground without yielding any fruits to the owners or the public. . . . Dr. — well remembered that he had a salary to receive, and only forgot that he had a duty to perform' (chap. iii.).

Nor is this picture of the state of the universities drawn from one or two instances, which might have been exceptional. The language of Gibbon is echoed by Bishop Butler, by Bentham, by Gray's friend West, who writes of Christ Church as 'a strange country, inhabited by things that call themselves Doctors and Masters of Arts; a country flowing with syllogisms and ale; where Horace and Virgil are equally unknown,' and by Gray himself, from Peterhouse, Cambridge. There is a passage, which is worth quoting from the *Wealth of Nations*, representing the undergraduate as willing to learn, but with no man to guide him, which is no doubt an expression of Smith's own feelings:

'No discipline is ever requisite to force attendance upon lectures which are really worth the attending, as is well known whenever any such lectures are given. . . . Such is the generosity of the greater part of young men, that, so far from being disposed to neglect or despise the instructions of their master, provided he show some serious intention of being of use to them, they are generally inclined to pardon a great deal of incorrectness in the performance of his duty, and sometimes even to conceal from the public a good deal of gross negligence' (v. 1).

The authorities of Balliol not merely neglected their pupil, but sought to check his aspirations after philosophy, as appears from the fact recorded by M'Culloch:

'Something had occurred while Dr. Smith was at Oxford to excite the suspicions of his superiors with regard to the nature of his private pursuits; and the heads of his college, having entered his apartment without his being aware, unluckily found him engaged reading Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (probably his presentation copy). The objectionable work was of course seized, the young philosopher being at the same time severely reprimanded.'¹

Another passage, coloured by Smith's recollections of Oxford, is where he is arguing against endowments in education as diminishing the necessity of application in the teacher:

¹ Life of Adam Smith in M'Culloch's edition of *Wealth of Nations*, p. 2.

'Whatever,' he says, 'forces a certain number of students to any college or university, independent of the merit and reputation of the teachers, tends more or less to diminish the necessity of that merit or reputation. . . . Were there no public institutions for education, no system, no science would be taught for which there was not some demand, or which the circumstances of the time did not render it either necessary or convenient, or at least fashionable, to learn. . . . Such systems, such sciences, can subsist nowhere but in those incorporated societies for education whose prosperity and revenue are in a great measure independent of their reputation, and altogether independent of their industry. Were there no public institutions for education, a gentleman, after going through, with application and abilities, the most complete course of education which the circumstances of the times were supposed to afford, could not come into the world completely ignorant of everything which is the common subject of conversation among gentlemen and men of the world.'¹

Mark Pattison on this passage remarked that Smith goes rather too far, having been led by the social condition of the time to an indiscriminate condemnation of endowments for any purpose; while in the last sentence there is an assumption that the subjects of conversation among men of the world can be the criterion of the subject-matter of education. Some endowment of the teacher is necessary, however much it may be attended with the risk of supineness and indifference to reputation.

On the whole, Smith's time at Oxford could not have been a very happy one. It is strange to think of Balliol as a rowdy college, but there is evidence to show that it then was so. The Snell exhibitioners were subject to a good deal of annoyance and persecution from the peculiarities of their Scotch dialect. Adam Smith also suffered from weak health. Nevertheless, in spite of these grave drawbacks, Smith never looked back on these years as wasted. He had the run of the excellent college library, and studied by himself widely its many subjects and many languages. Having the prospect neither of a clerical career, for which he felt no inclination, nor of a university career (as for a fellowship the condition was ordination), he resolved to return to Scotland. He stayed two years with his mother at Kirkcaldy (1746-1748); but some visits to Edinburgh led to his delivering a course of public lectures on English literature at the advice of Henry Home, afterwards Lord Kames. This stage of his career, however, need not detain us. He may not have been, as Wordsworth called him, 'the worst critic, David Hume excepted, that Scotland has produced,' but it is sufficient to be told

¹ *Wealth of Nations*, book v. chap. i. 3.

that he held, with Voltaire, that Shakespeare had written good scenes but not a good play, and that, though he had more dramatic genius than Dryden, Dryden was the greater poet, and that he rated Livy first among either ancient or modern historians, for us to be assured that literary criticism was certainly not Adam Smith's *forte*. Indeed, he himself requested that these lectures should be burnt shortly before his death, and we do not think Mr. Rae need have returned to this subject and dwelt on it again, as he does, at some length in a later chapter. We may here notice a curious misprint, to be corrected in a second edition, which occurs where he mentions Smith's high opinion of the *Phédre*. 'He thought Racine's *Phædrus* the finest tragedy extant in any language in the world.'

A period of thirteen years ensues of active academic work, which Smith always looked back upon as 'by far the most useful and therefore by far the happiest and most honourable period' of his life, during which he was first Professor of Logic at Glasgow College in 1731, and then, in the following year, appointed to the Chair of Moral Philosophy. His talents were thoroughly brought into play, and his true vocation dawned upon him more and more. Already he had begun to discover what it was before he left Edinburgh, for while there he had delivered a course of lectures on economics, in which he advocated the principles of economic liberty, and had made the acquaintance of James Oswald, M.P., a man of very advanced views on 'the new light,' who was far above the prevailing mercantile prejudices of the time. The Chair of Moral Philosophy was more congenial to Smith, as well as slightly more lucrative, than that of Logic. The sources of his income at this time were an endowment of something generally short of 100*l.* a year, the students' fees, and an occasional boarder. He had also, besides his salary, a house in the college. Mr. Rae mentions the curious fact that the professors used to lose several pounds every year by light guineas. He became very popular. His method of teaching was mainly extempore in his public lectures, while in those given to private pupils, of whom he had about twenty, he found it more convenient to read them, interspersing oral comments and illustrations as he went on. How sensitive he was to sympathy on the part of his hearers appears from a circumstance which Archibald Alison mentioned that he had heard from Adam Smith's own lips; and how he judged of his success from a certain student on whom he fixed his eye.

'If he leant forward to listen all was right, and I knew that I had the ear of my class; but if he leant back in an attitude of listlessness I felt at once that all was wrong, and that I must change either the subject or the style of my address' (p. 57).

His Moral Philosophy Lectures were divided into four parts—(1) Natural Theology, (2) Ethics, (3) Justice, (4) Expediency. Under (2) Ethics came the doctrines afterwards expounded in his *Theory of the Moral Sentiments*; under (4) those that formed the substance of the *Wealth of Nations*; while as to No. 3 he purposed tracing the Growth of Jurisprudence in a work which he did not live to publish. Among Smith's more noticeable pupils were Henry Erskine, of the Scotch bar, and his elder brother, Lord Buchan; Boswell, whom he delighted by granting him a certificate stating 'he was happily possessed of a facility of manners'; John Millar, afterwards associated with Smith as Professor of Jurisprudence; also a son of the eminent Genevan physician, Tronchin, specially sent to study under Smith; and the Hon. Thomas Fitzmaurice, Lord Shelburne's younger brother. Lord Shelburne himself, in a letter to Dugald Stewart, confesses that he was converted to free-trade principles by Adam Smith while they were travelling together to town, and Mr. Rae, by the exhaustive method, has fixed the date of this journey to 1761, the year of Smith's first visit there. 'I owe,' he says, 'to a journey I made with Mr. Smith from Edinburgh to London the difference between light and darkness through the best part of my life' (p. 153). There is other strong proof of the spread of 'the new light' while Smith was at Glasgow. Many of the leading men became through him convinced proselytes. Sir James Steuart, the well-known economist, said he grew sick of repeating arguments for protection because he found that Smith had already succeeded in persuading them completely in favour of a free importation of corn. An interesting extract is given by Mr. Rae (p. 62) from a paper which came into Dugald Stewart's possession, probably read at the Economic Society. In it Smith vindicates his claim to the authorship of his system of natural liberty in trade, and many of his most important doctrines, some of them stated in an extreme form, were detailed in this document twenty years before the publication of his great work.

There was plenty of life and movement in the dingy college of Glasgow in those days. There was Dr. Black discovering latent heat with a pan of water and two thermometers in the chemical laboratory of the University; there

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was James Watt, not slow to improve the opportunity of repairing their model of Newcomen's engine, plodding his way in mechanics, the science of construction, heat, and evaporation, till his broodings over these subjects finally resulted in the condensing steam engine; there was Robert Foulis, printing his lovely editions of the classics; and Wilson, whose type foundry was set up to help Foulis the better, and for whom the University built an observatory. Glasgow could also boast of starting the first school of design in Great Britain, and of foreshadowing our modern university extension in Professor Anderson's evening lectures on Natural Philosophy to working men in their working clothes. We cannot forbear to quote the following passage (p. 73) from Mr. Rae, as it shows the attitude that Smith would have taken up towards the arbitrary action of trades-unions at the present day:

'Now in all these new developments Smith took a warm interest; some of them he actively promoted. There is nothing in the University minutes to connect Smith in any more special way than the other professors with the University's timely hospitality to James Watt; but, as that act was a direct protest on behalf of industrial liberty against the tyrannical spirit of the trade guilds so strongly condemned in the *Wealth of Nations*, it is at least interesting to remember that Smith had a part in it. Watt, it may be recollected, was then a lad of twenty, who had come back from London to Glasgow to set up as mathematical instrument maker; but though there was no other mathematical instrument maker in the city the corporation of hammermen refused to permit his settlement because he was not the son or son-in-law of a burghess, and had not received his apprenticeship to the craft within the burgh. But in those days of privilege the universities also had their privileges. The professors of Glasgow enjoyed an absolute and independent authority over the area within college bounds, and they defeated the oppression of Watt by making him mathematical instrument maker to the University, and giving him a room in the college buildings for his workshop and another at the college gates for the sale of his instruments. In these proceedings Smith joined, and joined, we may be sure, with the warmest approval; for we know the strong light in which he regarded the oppressions of the corporation laws. "The property which every man has in his labour," he says, "as it is the original foundation of all other property, so it is the most sacred and inviolable. The patrimony of the poor man lies in the strength and dexterity of his hands, and to hinder him from employing this strength and dexterity in what manner he thinks proper without injury to his neighbour is a plain violation of this most sacred property. It is a manifest encroachment upon the just liberty both of the workman and of those who might be disposed to employ him."¹

¹ *Wealth of Nations*, book i. chap. ix.

Adam Smith's environment during these years at Glasgow was thus highly important for the moulding of his character and the direction of his speculations. He was, as Mr. Rae says, a learner as well as a teacher.

'It was amid the thickening problems of the rising trade of the Clyde and the daily discussions among the enterprising and intelligent merchants of the town that he grew into a great economist... Glasgow had already begun its transition from the small provincial to the great commercial capital, and was therefore at a stage of development of special value to the philosophical observer' (pp. 87, 88).

To information derived from Andrew Cochrane, one of the rich merchants, and a very able man, Smith acknowledges his obligations. Cochrane was the founder of the Political Economy Club—probably the first that existed. He, in common with James Oswald and others, was anxious to get the duty on American iron and on foreign linen yarns abolished. In this there was indeed no thought of free trade. They were probably thinking of their own interest as manufacturers, for they never dreamt of abolishing the export bounty on home-made linen or the protective law of 1748. But various points of view were opened up, and good could not fail to come out of the discussion of such subjects, as well as of paper money, the currency, and exchanges with other countries. But Smith did not allow his mind to get into a groove by confining himself wholly to the society of Glasgow, enlightened as it was. He made frequent excursions to Edinburgh, and spent most part of his vacations there, entering keenly into all its varied intellectual life.

About the time of his election to his professorship at Glasgow, Hume had come to settle at the capital, and now began the intimate friendship of the two men, Smith latterly making Hume's house his regular Edinburgh home. Indeed Hume, in order to have Smith nearer to him, tried to secure him the Chair of Jurisprudence at Edinburgh; but there was a difficulty in arranging this, and, as Mr. Rae says, 'the world is probably no loser by the difficulty, whatever it was, which kept Smith five years longer among the economical and commercial problems of Glasgow.' Smith took a leading part in founding the celebrated Select Society, at the second meeting of which we may note that one of the questions for debate was 'whether bounties on the exportation of corn be advantageous to trade and manufactures as well as to agriculture' (p. 110). The debates held by this club were by no means merely academical. There were 'with respect to commercial problems, the best opportunities of hearing

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them discussed at first hand by those who were practically most conversant with the subjects in all their details' (p. 111).

When a special committee of the Select Society made a somewhat new departure under a new title, Allan Ramsay, the founder of the club, was opposed to extending the scope of its work, and thought it beneath its dignity to offer prizes for such homely subjects as the best hogshead of strong ale, or for the cure of the greatest number of smoky chimneys. The practical bent, however, of Adam Smith's mind is seen in his entering heartily into the new scheme, a stimulus to the development of Scotch industries being in his opinion the thing most needed at the moment. But useful as the Select Society was, it only lasted ten years, the national vanity about the respective claims of Scotch and English speech giving it its death-blow in 1765. Another club, of which Smith was an original member, if not one of its founders, was the Poker Club, so called from its aim having been to *stir* public opinion on the question of a national Scotch militia. Of this it is enough to say that Smith's zeal, in common with that of others, cooled down very much in later years, and that after carefully examining the subject in the *Wealth of Nations* (bk. v. ch. i.), he expressed a strong preference for a standing army.

It was in 1759, when he was thirty-six, that Smith first came before the world as an author by his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. The fundamental principle of the work is that sympathy forms the basis of morals. Our judgments on our own acts are but applications to ourselves of decisions already passed on the acts of others. As he says in the section on the 'Sense of Duty' (pt. iii. ch. i.),

'we endeavour to examine our own conduct as we imagine any fair and impartial spectator would examine it. . . . We suppose ourselves the spectators of our own behaviour, and endeavour to imagine what effect it would, in this light, produce upon us. This is the only looking-glass by which we can, in some measure, with the eyes of other people, scrutinize the propriety of our own conduct' (p. 156, ed. 1822).

The germ of this view had probably been suggested to him by Hutcheson's *Lectures*, for in them

'he expressly raises and discusses the question, Can we reduce our moral sentiments to sympathy? He answered the question himself in the negative, on the ground that we often approve of the actions of people with whom we have no sympathy—our enemies, for example; and his pupil's contribution to the discussion was an

ingenious attempt to surmount that objection by the theory of sympathy with an impartial spectator' (p. 14).

There is no need to enter into further details of this theory, which has been sufficiently criticized and is now obsolete; but it may be granted that it is very ingeniously set forth, showing, as the Senate on accepting the author's resignation of his professorship said, 'a happy talent for illustrating abstract studies.' Mackintosh, while he calls Smith the most eloquent of modern moralists, refers to the variety of explanations of life and manners which embellish the book often more than they illuminate the theory, and hits several blots in it, of which the most serious perhaps is that the sympathies have nothing more of an *imperative* character in them than any other emotions.¹ Hume also made some subtle objections to the too sweeping character of Smith's principles. The book was well received, and went through six editions in Smith's lifetime. It came into great vogue in France, and was more than once translated there. In the sixth edition some important additions were introduced, which contain in point of style some of his best writing. This revision in 1790 was the last work that Smith published.

But a value attaches to the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* far beyond that of its intrinsic merit. Its publication proved indirectly to be the decisive turning-point in its author's career. Charles Townshend was so charmed with it that he set his heart on securing for Smith the post of travelling tutor to the young Duke of Buccleugh, then on the point of leaving Eton.

We can hardly overrate the importance of this sojourn abroad, whether we regard the freedom it gave from all pecuniary cares (the terms were very handsome, 300*l.* a year with travelling expenses, and a pension of 300*l.* a year for life afterwards) or the leisure for literary work and the maturing of opinion upon weighty subjects, or the opportunity afforded by the *entrée* to the Paris salons and intimacy with the most illustrious thinkers of the time, *e.g.* Quesnay, Turgot, Necker, D'Alembert, Helvetius, Marmontel, the Abbé Morellet, and Mme. d'Espinasse. The success of this tutorship might have proved very doubtful with a travelling companion of a different character, especially where the tutor was so liable to fits of absence of mind; but Smith was exceptionally fortunate in his pupil, who was the great-grandfather of the present Duke, and exhibited in a long life

¹ Dissertation ii. in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 7th edition.

all the fine qualities that have distinguished the House of Buccleugh. He remained on most friendly terms with Smith till the death of the latter.

France has been called 'the laboratory of civilization,' and the period of this visit, in the sixth decade of the reign of the worthless Louis XV., just a quarter of a century before the Revolution, was one of those lulls in history—

'The torrent's smoothness ere it dash below'—

that are peculiarly impressive.

'To a political philosopher,' as Mr. Rae says, 'foreign travel is an immense advantage, and there never was a country where graver or more interesting problems, both economic and constitutional, offered themselves for study than France in the latter half of last century, nor any political philosopher who enjoyed better opportunities than Smith of discussing such problems with the ablest and best informed minds on the spot. Smith's residence in France, whatever it was to his pupil, must have been an invaluable education to himself, supplying him day after day with constant materials for fresh comparison and thought' (ch. xiv. p. 228).

Did he foresee the coming hurricane? His biographer devotes three pages to this interesting question, and thinks that, on the whole, he was quite aware of the gravities and possibilities of the situation—the poverty, distress, and oppression of the peasants, and the hopelessness of any improvement so long as the existing distribution of political power continued.

After resigning his professorship, making the most honourable arrangements about his Glasgow class for the remainder of the session, and even forcing his pupils to take back the fees already received—Mr. Rae gives us (p. 170) a curious description of the parting scene—Smith set out with the Duke and a former school friend of the latter, Sir James Macdonald, in February 1764. They spent only ten days in Paris, and went on to Toulouse, then the second city in France, where they remained eighteen months. In spite of its University, its Parliament, and its refined society—the nobility coming for the winter to reside in their town houses—the place was dull. Glasgow was a pleasurable life, says Smith, in comparison. It was here that he began to write the *Wealth of Nations*. It was here, too, that just at this very time the last scene was acted in the fearful Calas tragedy. It is difficult to realize that 130 years ago torture was still employed in any civilized country in Europe. Yet so it was.

'Jean Calas, it may be remembered, had a son who had renounced his Protestantism in order to become eligible for admission to the Toulouse bar, and then worried himself so much about his apostasy that he committed suicide in his father's house; and the father was unjustly accused before the Parliament of the town of having murdered the youth on account of his apostasy, was found guilty without a particle of proof, and then broken on the wheel and burnt on the 9th of March 1762' (chap. xii. p. 186).

It should be added that the widow and the children of Calas were put to the torture, and eventually fled to Geneva to take refuge with Voltaire. For three years he made it the chief business of his life to agitate for redress. He procured a new trial before a special court on March 9, 1765. Calas was pronounced absolutely innocent of the crime, and the payment of a money recompense of thirty thousand livres was made to his family. Smith has introduced this event into his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (pt. iii. chap. ii.), where he touches on the dread of unmerited blame.

Besides the Abbé Colbert, a cousin of Hume, and Colonel Barré, who joined them at Bordeaux, they saw little society. The contrast between the working classes at the two cities was very striking.

'In Bordeaux they were in general industrious, sober, and thriving; in Toulouse and the rest of the Parliament towns they were idle and poor; and the reason was that Bordeaux was a commercial town, the *entrepôt* of the wine trade of a rich wine district, while Toulouse and the rest were merely residential towns, employing little capital more than was necessary to supply their own consumption. The common people were always better off in a town like Bordeaux, where they lived on capital, than in a town like Toulouse, where they lived on revenue' (chap. xii. p. 180).

Other visits made by Smith and his pupils were to Bagnères de Bigorre and to Montpellier. The chief attraction of the latter place was the States of Languedoc, almost the sole surviving relic of free institutions in France, which were then sitting. They governed their affairs so well as to excite the envy of the rest of the kingdom; and Smith, 'who has expressed the strongest opinion in favour of the administration of provincial affairs by a local body, instead of by an intendant, must have witnessed with no ordinary interest the proceedings of this remarkable little assembly.' At Geneva, whither they next moved, they made many friends, and met many distinguished personages. But the principal interest of the visit was the introduction to Voltaire, probably by Dr. Tronchin, whose son, as already mentioned, had studied at

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Glasgow. For Voltaire, Smith had a genuine veneration. When Samuel Rogers happened to describe some clever but superficial author as 'a Voltaire,' Smith brought his hand down on the table with great energy, and said, 'Sir, there is only one Voltaire' (p. 190). About the middle of December 1765 the party arrived at Paris, just in time for Smith to enjoy one week with Hume before he left for London. Hume was the king of the philosophers, and able to introduce his friend to all the *élite*. Mr. Rae, in an interesting chapter on the ten months spent in Paris, deals with the question as to the extent of the influence of Turgot on Smith's conclusions, and holds that the idea of the natural liberty of trade—the main doctrine they had in common—was already in the air, and that 'Smith's position was so much more solidly balanced and moderate than Turgot's, that it is different in positive character.' With all his admiration for Turgot, he thought him too simple-hearted for a statesman. Nor did he form a high opinion of Necker's abilities, whose political downfall he foretold directly his head was put to any real proof. With the new sect of the Economists, and particularly with M. Quesnay—to whom the *Wealth of Nations* was to have been dedicated had he been alive at the time of its publication—Smith had much sympathy. But Mr. Rae combats the view taken by Dupont de Nemours, that he was strictly his disciple.

'He had been for sixteen years before he met the Economists teaching the two principal truths which they set themselves to proclaim: (1) that the wealth of a country does not consist in its gold and silver, but in its stock of consumable commodities; and (2) that the true way of increasing it is not by conferring privileges or imposing restraints, but by assuring its producers a fair field and no favour. He had taught those truths in 1750, and Quesnay had not written anything bearing on them till 1756. Moreover, much in their system on which they laid most stress he has publicly repudiated' (chap. xiv. p. 216).

To these political reformers (for they were that quite as much as they were theorists) the great malady of the age was the ever increasing distress of the peasants; and in the remedies they proposed—*e.g.* to raise the net product of the land by better methods of cultivation, and by the removal or lightening of public burdens—we seem to be reading from a chapter in the history of the agricultural depression of our own day.

We pass rapidly over the next ten years (1766–1776). He was twice in London, and on the first occasion was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He was studying much during

this period at the British Museum, then newly established, and elsewhere. Colonial problems engaged much of his attention. The American question was becoming a burning one, the Stamp Act having been passed the year before his return from the Continent. From London he went to Kirkcaldy, where he was immersed in hard study—too hard, as it proved, for his health—for six years. He then returned to town with the manuscript of his *opus magnum*, the first draft of which was completed in 1769. But six years, involving fresh investigations and a considerable amount of re-writing, still remained. At this time he derived valuable help from Franklin, and Franklin's biographer well says that 'the American colonies constitute the experimental evidence of the essential truth of the book, without which many of its leading positions had been little more than theory.' Smith thought it not unlikely that he would die before it got through the press; but at length *The Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* was published by Cadell on March 9, 1776.

Of such a monumental work it is obvious that this is not the place for even the barest analysis. A very few salient points of enduring value may be selected.

I. The so-called Mercantile System has been exploded ever since Adam Smith's time. This erroneous conception, the essence of which was to identify wealth with money, then infected the commercial policy of every European nation. Even now there may linger remains of it. Mill classes it under the fallacy of changing the premisses. It starts with the maxim that whatever brings in money enriches; therefore money should be attracted into a country, and kept there by prohibitions and bounties. But the premiss is only true under a qualification (*secundum quid*)—viz. that if the riches of an individual are in proportion to the quantity of money he can command, it is because that is the measure of his power of purchasing money's worth; whereas the Mercantile Theory assumes it to be true *absolutely*, and infers that increase of money is increase of riches, even when produced by means subversive of the condition under which alone money can be riches.¹

II. Smith's four Canons of Taxation:

1. Taxes should be in proportion to the means of the taxed.
2. They should be certain, not arbitrary.

¹ *Logic*, bk. vi. ch. vi. 4.

3. They should be levied at the time most convenient to the taxed.
4. The State ought to obtain as much as possible of the amount levied.

The first of these Professor Fawcett¹ states in a slightly different form. The truth of the last three he considers indisputable.

III. The necessities of life. What articles are to be regarded as such depends very much on the habits of one country as compared with another. In England nobody is too poor to wear leather shoes. In France they are (or were in Smith's time) necessities neither to men nor to women who wear wooden shoes or go bare-footed. The difference is the effect of industry, of the well-being it produces, and of the habits and expectations which it breeds up in the people.

Few educated persons are ignorant of such leading principles, but what they learn from Mr. Rae's volume is the evolution and growth of these ideas in the mind of Smith; the gradual building up of the fabric of Political Economy, of which he was the father. Glasgow, France, London, America, each contributed something.

The effect produced by the book was immediate, and almost unique in the history of political literature. Not that it at once attracted public notice, or that the quotations from it from time to time in the Houses of Parliament deserve so much weight as has been attached to them; but its value was at once recognized by the learned, and in a marked way it influenced the first budget after its publication. Lord North, when forced to increase the revenue in 1777, got the idea of two new taxes from the *Wealth of Nations*, one on man-servants and the other on property sold by auction. In the next year the inhabited house duty and the malt tax were both derived from Smith's suggestions. Again, when in 1779 the pressing question of giving free trade to Ireland came to the front, the detailed statements furnished to the Government abound in quotations from the book, and its author was consulted by Henry Dundas and Lord Carlisle. In his reply to the latter, Smith expresses strongly his opinion that as to exports and imports in the fullest sense of the terms England could suffer little or nothing by removing all restraints from Ireland. Eight years later Pitt, of whom Smith said that he understood his ideas better than he did himself,

‘was reforming the national finances with the *Wealth of Nations* in

¹ *Pol. Econ.* bk. iv. ch. i.

his hand. . . . The first few years of his long ministry saw the day-break of free trade. He brought in a measure of Commercial Emancipation for Ireland; he carried a commercial treaty with France; he passed, in accordance with Smith's recommendations, laws simplifying the collection and administration of the revenue' (p. 404).

The book sold well both abroad and at home, and was soon translated into several foreign languages. It went through many editions in Smith's lifetime, and in that of 1784 some new matter was introduced. A few years later its circulation was even increased by the antagonism roused by the very name of Political Economy from the writer's supposed sympathy with French revolutionary principles. We cannot here embark upon the wide question how much of permanent value there is in Adam Smith's great work, and what deficiencies in his system time has revealed. The historical method of Political Economy has arisen since his day, and new factors have to be taken into consideration, so that what was held to be of universal validity has to be viewed in the light of modern problems, and interpreted by the social and industrial conditions of our own times.

The remaining period of Smith's life may be summed up briefly. As an express reward for, and public recognition of, his work, he was made a Commissioner of Customs in Scotland (November 1777), an appointment very creditable to Lord North, as Smith had always been a strong Whig. These last years were spent in honour (in 1787 he was chosen without a contest Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow) in easy circumstances, for the post was worth 600*l.* a year, and he retained the Duke of Buccleugh's pension, and in the conscientious discharge of his not very onerous duties, the practical nature of which was of use to him in his economic studies. But they were chequered by declining health and by the loss of those dearest to him. Hume died August 25, 1776, and Smith, who had attended him affectionately, sent Strahan an account of his last days, with expressions of warm admiration, which were natural as coming from his oldest and most intimate friend. At this distance of time it seems strange that such a clamour should have been raised by this letter if there was nothing worse in it than the sentence quoted by Mr. Rae, for there is independent ground for thinking that Hume was not, as is generally believed, an Atheist, but a Theist. In 1714 Smith lost his mother, and four years later his cousin, Miss Jean Douglas, who had lived under his roof for many years. He did not long survive

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these heavy bereavements, and died, aged sixty-seven, July 17, 1790.

Besides Hume and the friends of his earlier days at Glasgow and Edinburgh, he had many others, among them men of the best stamp, imbued with the spirit of inquiry which formed so marked a feature of the eighteenth century: Gibbon; Burke, to whom he did the honours of the town on his installation as Lord Rector of the University of Glasgow; Henry Mackenzie, the author of *The Man of Feeling*; Sir Joshua Reynolds; Samuel Rogers, then a young man of twenty-three, whom he entertained the year before his death; William Adam, the friend of Bentham, to whom he admitted the justice of some of Bentham's strictures on his proposed legal limitation of the rate of interest; and Sir Joseph Banks, who showed him particular attention. Ferguson, who had been, owing to the defect of his jealous character, estranged from Smith for some time, became reconciled to him in his last days. To serve a friend he would do anything—would even write a letter, though to use a pen was such positive pain to him that, to avoid it, it seems that he dictated all his books, while walking up and down his room. His Sunday supper parties at Panmure House, where he resided for his last twelve years, were long remembered.

Smith had projected a great work on Government, and had made considerable preparations for it. But a week before his death he could not be easy in his mind till he had had all his manuscripts, extending to sixteen volumes (Lord Brougham, *Lives of Philosophers*, p. 193, says eighteen), burnt with the exception of four selected essays. These were published as a posthumous volume in 1795, the most valuable among them being a *History of Astronomy*, which appears to be nearly finished. That he desired such a mass of material to be destroyed is a proof of his conscientiousness and fastidiousness as a writer, and also shows how long and laboriously he had brooded over his favourite speculations. He used to talk to himself in his walks and mutter in company as if unconscious of his friends' presence. Once during dinner at Dalkeith he was abusing a certain statesman, when he suddenly perceived his nearest relative sitting opposite, and stopped; but he was heard to go on muttering, 'Deil care, deil care, it's all true.'

Of this absent-mindedness, which was mended but certainly not ended by foreign travel, Mr. Rae gives several amusing instances. Once, when showing Charles Townshend over the tannery at Glasgow, he walked right into the tan-

pit, whence, however, he was rescued without taking any harm. On another occasion Mr. Damer called on him as he was sitting down to breakfast, and Smith while talking to him 'took a piece of bread and butter, and after rolling it round and round, put it into the teapot, and poured water upon it.' No wonder that on tasting it he declared it was the worst tea he had ever met with. There is also the story recorded by Dr. Rogers, how he went out one Sunday morning into his garden in his dressing-gown, and having turned into the high road rambled on as far as Dunfermline, fifteen miles distant, and was only roused from the deep reverie into which he was immersed, by the bells sounding and the people coming out of church. But a still more remarkable incident, too long to quote, is mentioned (p. 332). The peculiarity of this spell, the result no doubt of prolonged concentration, 'thinker's cramp,' was that on his waking from the trance it was followed by complete forgetfulness of what had passed. In spite of these fits of abstraction, he was by no means devoid of practical sagacity and acuteness.

In this latest portrait of Adam Smith, Mr. Rae has added many touches which bring before us still more clearly the man as he was in his habit, and the times in which he lived. We see him solid and instructive in his conversation, enjoying his library of some three thousand volumes of a varied character, most of which were handsomely bound. 'I am a beau,' he said, 'only in my books.' 'Plain living and high thinking' was the rule at the Literary Society and the other gatherings where he and his friends met for relaxation and discussion. His temper was serene and amiable. Of the notorious altercation with Dr. Johnson, and its conflicting accounts and tangled dates, it is enough here to say with Mr. Rae that their common membership in the Literary Club is proof of the complete burial of their earlier quarrel. He was by natural disposition a peace-maker, though at the same time a good hater. 'We can breathe more freely now,' he once said when one who habitually palliated wrong-doing had left the room; 'that man has no indignation in him' (p. 245). Dr. Alexander Carlyle, in his *Autobiography* (p. 281), says: 'Though Smith had some little jealousy in his temper, he had the most unbounded benevolence. His smile of approbation was truly captivating.' His frequent acts of private charity, which were quite out of proportion to his means, were marked by the finest delicacy; and his friends were surprised at the small fortune that he left.

What is to be said lastly of his religious opinions? Mr.

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Rae, who does not discuss this question at length, holds that he was certainly a Theist, and that he probably discarded the Christian miracles. There is no proof of the often repeated statement that Bishop Douglas's *Criterion of Miracles Examined* was written expressly to convert Smith on this point, and the silence of Douglas's biographer renders it very doubtful. Far too much has been made of the omission of a passage on the Atonement in his revision of the *Moral Sentiments*. It was omitted, as Smith explained, as being unnecessary and misplaced. His firm belief in a future state and an omniscient Judge comes out in a fine passage on the Calas case at Toulouse, mentioned above. If he was not a Christian, the line of separation was a very narrow one. Whatever may have been his attitude towards historical Christianity, he joined at any rate in prayers made in the name and for the sake of Christ at the side of his mother's death-bed. He cordially welcomed good Christian work, e.g. the Sunday school movement started by Thomas Raikes. His life was exemplary. Hostile to Christianity he certainly was not, and the beneficent tendency of his writings was in harmony with its spirit, as is seen in his earnestness in insisting on fair play for all, his profound sympathy with the working classes, and his horror and condemnation of such narrow maxims as 'all for ourselves and nothing for other people.' We cannot blame him for concentrating his life-labour on the work wherein lay his strength, and which he believed would bear best fruit; nor can we doubt that in his doctrines, corrected and brought into relation with the social problems and industrial revolution of modern times, that fruit will remain.

ART. VIII.—THE NEW LAUREATE.

1. *The Human Tragedy*. By ALFRED AUSTIN. (London, 1862; 4th ed., 1891.)
2. *Savonarola; a Tragedy*. By ALFRED AUSTIN. (London, 1881; 2nd ed., 1891.)
3. *Prince Lucifer*. By ALFRED AUSTIN. (London, 1887; 3rd ed., 1896.)
4. *The Tower of Babel; a Celestial Love-Drama*. By ALFRED AUSTIN. (London, 1890.)
5. *Narrative Poems*. By ALFRED AUSTIN. (London, 1891.)
6. *Lyrical Poems*. By ALFRED AUSTIN. (London, 1891; 2nd ed., 1896.)
7. *Fortunatus the Pessimist*. By ALFRED AUSTIN. (London, 1892.)
8. *England's Darling*. By ALFRED AUSTIN, Poet Laureate. (London, 1896.)

WHEN the morning papers of New Year's Day announced that Her Majesty the Queen once more owned a Laureate, it may fairly be supposed that very many readers rubbed their eyes with astonishment. More than three years had gone by since the death of Tennyson left a gap, irreparable for the time, in the ranks of English poetry; and although rumours of the impending appointment had been heard, they had not spread very widely, and by many were not believed. There seemed to be at least one excellent reason why the Laureateship should remain, at least for a time, in abeyance; and that was the notorious fact that the two best of living poets were practically ineligible for the post. Mr. Austin has spoken in terms of such becoming modesty of his own powers that it is no offence to him to say that of all living poets Mr. Swinburne stands unquestionably first in sheer poetical gifts, and Mr. William Morris would by most judges be placed next to him; but Mr. Swinburne, in spite of the admirable patriotic poetry of his later years, which would have well befitted a Laureate, was disqualified by the social and religious opinions of his youth, and Mr. Morris by his political opinions, past and present. Hence it was inevitable that any new Laureate could be at best but the third of living poets, and under these circumstances it seemed to many that the office, with the noble associations which it had acquired during the last half-century, would be better left unfilled.

Lord Salisbury, however, has reverted to the earlier traditions of the Laureateship. We have grown so accustomed to regard the title as indicating a primacy among contemporary poets that we are apt to speak as if it had been always so, and as if the obscurity of many of the holders of the laurel in the eighteenth century were simply a sign of the low level of poetry at that time, or of the bad judgment of those who made the appointments. But in fact it is only within the present century that this tradition has sprung up. In former times the Laureateship was simply a piece of political patronage, whereby a minister secured a pen for the service of his party or rewarded the importunity of a political adherent. Dryden, the only name of any eminence on the list between Jonson and Southey, owed his position to such poems as *Astræa Redux* and *Annus Mirabilis*, and at the time of his appointment had no marked superiority over the other writers of the day. And even when the appointment was not political, it was still a mere matter of patronage, in which no severe criticism of comparative claims was expected. To the present day the Queen has a Painter-in-Ordinary, a Marine Painter, and a Master of Music, but it would puzzle most persons to name off-hand the holders of these distinguished posts, and it is certain (with all possible deference to those concerned) that they carry with them no primacy among the painters and musicians of the day, nor does anyone complain because it is so. The Poet Laureate might very reasonably be appointed on the same lines, simply as one whom the Queen delights to honour; all that can be said to the contrary is that the opposite tradition has prevailed during the present century, and that perhaps it is a better tradition. The laurel was offered to Scott in 1813, as the most popular of poets then living, and was at the same time relieved of the accompanying obligation of an annual ode, which certainly tended to make its holder ridiculous. It was expressly pressed upon Wordsworth 'as a tribute of respect which is justly due to the first of living poets,' and on Wordsworth's death it passed into the possession of one whose claims to primacy were generally recognized by those who were competent to judge, and was worn by him for more than forty years with the full approval of all. If the appointment were to revert to its former character there was no reason why the vacancy should not have been filled at once; and Lord Rosebery had at his disposal a sufficiently copious writer of verse of his own political persuasion, and one, moreover, who seldom failed to be on hand with an ode on any public occa-

sion. Lord Rosebery, however, resisted the temptation; and we cannot help regretting that Lord Salisbury has not chosen to follow so excellent an example.

But even granting that it was right to make the best of such material as we have, and not to withhold the laurel because there was no one eligible to wear it with a right equal to Tennyson's or Wordsworth's, there must have been many who were surprised at the choice of Mr. Alfred Austin—many, we will venture to say, even among lovers of literature, who had read little or nothing of his poetry. To say this is not necessarily to make any adverse reflection on Mr. Austin; if Shelley had been made Laureate in 1813, or Tennyson in 1843, or Browning in 1850, the same might have been said of them. It is merely to state a fact. Mr. Austin has written no poem which has achieved such general popularity as *The Light of Asia* or *The Epic of Hades*, neither has he won the approbation of the select circle of critics to the same extent as Mr. Robert Bridges or Mr. William Watson. It is a melancholy fact that in the British Museum Catalogue the future Laureate is described as 'Austin (Alfred), *Novelist, etc.*' His poems had, no doubt, a fair circulation, and he was understood to be a writer for the Conservative press; but we would venture to say that if on the morrow of Tennyson's death every reader of contemporary poetry had been asked, without communication with others, to name a candidate for the vacant laurel, Mr. Austin's name would have occurred to few, save those perhaps who had been reading the valedictory tributes in the morning newspapers.

It may therefore be not without interest to pass in review the poetical works of the new Laureate with something more of minuteness than would be necessary in the case of a poet more generally known. Again we would say that absence of general recognition is in itself no bar to his being a poet of even the very first rank. We should ourselves prefer his claim to that of some writers whose circulation is probably very much greater than Mr. Austin's; and, if we had selected a Laureate ourselves, might perhaps have chosen one who is even less generally known. Only, if it be the function of a review to serve as a fingerpost to readers in search of good books, or (as it is sometimes whispered) to save them the trouble of reading for themselves, it is clearly more needed the less the author reviewed is generally known.

The two 'notes' by which Mr. Austin's poetry is especially distinguished are his patriotism and his love of nature. Mr. William Watson, in the essay prefixed to his selection

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from Mr. Austin's lyrical poems¹—an essay which goes far to confirm the impression, elsewhere produced, that Mr. Watson is much better as a poet than as a critic of poetry—names as his principal characteristics 'a noble filial love of Country, and a tenderly passionate *love of the country*.' It is much to be able to say this; for these are two qualities which are most surely suitable for a Laureate. But it is well to remember that they are far from being the root of the whole matter. If they were all that is needed, there are scores of country gentlemen throughout England whose love of their country is at least as ardent as Mr. Austin's, and whose knowledge of natural history and country scenery equal and even surpass his. They would be admirable Laureates—if only they were poets. That is where the gist of the matter lies. We should all be inexhaustible poets, says Emerson, if once we could burst through the silence into adequate rhyme; but it is in the adequacy of the poetry that we mostly fail. It will be our duty and our pleasure to see, as we examine Mr. Austin's volumes one by one, how far his treatment of these noble and poetic subjects can fairly be considered adequate.

His earliest volume, *The Human Tragedy*, first published in 1862, is a long narrative poem in eight-line stanzas, after the pattern of Ariosto. The scene is mostly laid in Italy, during the throes of the struggle for liberty; but it begins in England, and ends at Paris amid the red horrors of the Commune. Its theme throughout is the ill-starred loves of two Englishmen. Gilbert and Godfrid alike love an English maiden, Olive. She loves Godfrid in return, but is persuaded to marry Gilbert. Godfrid takes refuge in Italy, and there is won by the charm of Olympia, the single-souled devotee who tends a little shrine in a village on the coast; but she steadily rejects his suit, though at the expense of her own happiness, because he cannot bring himself to share her religious faith. They part, and accident brings Godfrid across Gilbert and Olive at a time when the former is desperately ill with fever. Godfrid helps to nurse him back to life; but proximity to Olive revives the former flame, and an accident brings it to the knowledge of Gilbert. From that moment, torn between love and loyalty, she sickens and wastes away; and over her grave the two men, both true men and true lovers, resolve to throw themselves into the service of Italian liberty; Godfrid, from a real devotion to the cause, Gilbert,

¹ *English Lyrics*, by Alfred Austin; edited by William Watson (Macmillan, 1890; 4th edit. 1896).

from a desire to find a tomb. The canto ends with a stanza composed of six fine lines and a bathos :

'So where the graves are quietest she lieth,
She who was so unfortunate, though fair.
While to the rest full many a footstep hieth,
To her hushed mound none ever doth repair.
But fleecy cloud, and sunny breeze that flieth,
Seem to have made it their peculiar care.
As for the twain, they vanished in the rattle
Of jolting tumbrils and the joy of battle.'¹

The scene changes to Capri in 1867, where Gilbert, now an enthusiast in the cause of Italian freedom, has found an equal enthusiasm in the lovely Miriam. Godfrid is there too, and all three join in the rush for Rome which met with disastrous failure at Mentana. There Godfrid, severely wounded, finds Olympia once more in the guise of a Sister of Mercy ; there, Gilbert, stricken apparently to death, is hastily wedded to Miriam ; and the curtain falls on the defeat of Italian hopes, and the triumph of the Papal power through the help of French bayonets. It rises on the Nemesis for all this—on the overthrow of France, the occupation of Rome by the Italian troops, and the horrors of the Commune in Paris. There Gilbert and Miriam, growing wilder in their passion for all that calls itself Liberty, have thrown themselves into the ranks of the Commune ; thither Olympia is resolved to go to tend the wounded, and Godfrid, still true to his hopeless love, volunteers to escort her ; and there the tragedy ends with their rescue of Gilbert and Miriam in the final overthrow of the Commune, a rescue ending for themselves in a death which at last unites a pair whom life had held apart, though near.

The story of *The Human Tragedy* has much poetry in it, but as a whole it is too long, too monotonous, too much spun out. The descriptions of scenery are often pleasant, the representation of action generally ineffective ; and the emotion does not stir the reader very deeply. It is graceful but not powerful ; we are not greatly moved by the troubles of the heroes and heroines. Pathetic though the story be in intention, it does not rise to the height of its title ; it may gently stir our pity, but it certainly never excites our fear. Its merits are all of the milder order, such as belong to a smoothly flowing narrative with occasional passages of graceful description. Here, for an example, is the picture of Olympia in the little chapel which she tended :

¹ *The Human Tragedy*, p. 139.

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' And now the mountain maiden spread the store
Of wondrous whiteness from the hawthorn bower
Culled by the stranger, on the marble floor,
And from her lap discovered many a flower :
Proud cyclamens on long lithe stems that soar,
Retiring violets that meekly cower
Among green leaves, lilies that know not fear,
And the blue stars to parting lovers dear.

' All these her fingers fancifully wrought
Into festoons and wreaths and posies fair ;
Then from an inner sanctuary brought
Vases of delicate tint but simplest ware,
And round the statue, nimbly as her thought,
Ranged them, till not a single spot seemed bare.
Whereon she back retired a little space,
And eyed her handiwork with questioning face.

" There, it is done, tho' ill. Now let us kneel,
And beg our gracious Mother to accept
Our tribute poor, since paid with homage leal."
Therewith a pace or two she forward stepped,
And her fair knees the marble fair did feel.
He just a little way behind her crept,
And, forcing his proud limbs to bend, obeyed
Her sovran word, and watched her as she prayed.

' Her hands were clasped, her eyes cast meekly down,
Down her smooth cheek the tender tear-drop stole,
And under kerchief white and bodice brown
Heaved the pure tumult of her sinless soul.
Oh ! soon the Lady with the starry crown
Will sure, he thought, step from her flowery knoll,
And, subtly quickened by celestial charms,
Enfold this virgin form in virgin arms ?' ¹

The Human Tragedy is Mr. Austin's only long narrative poem. The rest of his work, apart from his shorter compositions, has been cast in dramatic form ; but though the form is the same, there are considerable differences in manner among his five dramatic poems. *Savonarola*, the first of these to appear, is an historic tragedy of the traditional kind, not greatly remarkable either for good or ill. Its dedication to Sir Henry Irving, and the minute stage directions as to exits and entrances, suggest that Mr. Austin may have had some thoughts of seeing it actually presented on the stage ; but it was a wise discretion, whether of author or actor, which held it back from the proof. The character of the great Florentine preacher, prophet, and statesman, if adequately represented,

¹ *The Human Tragedy*, pp. 75, 76.

would, indeed, be not unsuitable for the actor of Wolsey and Becket; but the play as it stands lacks grip and strength. The multiplicity of characters perhaps dilutes the interest, and the speeches and situations which should be most striking somehow fail to move. At the bottom it is the same defect as in *The Human Tragedy*, a want of power to impress the reader with the reality and intensity of the emotions described; and the defect is more fatal to a drama than to a narrative.

An interval of six years separates the first publications of *Savonarola* and *Prince Lucifer*, and between the two there is a complete change of manner. We have no hesitation in giving *Prince Lucifer* the first place, as a drama, in Mr. Austin's poetical works. The story is interesting, though slight, and the interest is maintained to the end, while the style, if not powerful, is pleasant and at times effective. The drama, reduced to its simplest terms, is a struggle between the intellect and the emotions. Prince Lucifer is a modern prince, who, from high intellectual motives, holds that marriage should be an affair of love alone, and is lowered by being made the subject of a formal contract. Failing to convince his people of this truth, he has abdicated, and lives in seclusion with one follower, Count Abdiel. Both fall in love with charming maidens in the little mountain village to which they have retired. Abdiel, the cynic, marries the maiden of his choice, Elspeth; Lucifer persuades Eve to accept his (as he holds them) higher views, and she, in her utter trust in him, consents. So far the success of Lucifer's theories seems complete. He and Eve are completely happy in their love, whereas Abdiel soon begins to neglect and desert his wife. But the test is still to come. Eve's babe is seized with illness, and in her agony of anxiety she falls back at once on the religion in which she has been brought up. She kindles again the lamp before Madonna's shrine; her despair prevails on Lucifer himself to bear her message of summons to the old priest, Father Gabriel; and when, in spite of all, the child dies, Lucifer, instead of making this a further argument of the uselessness of religion, draws the truer moral that, devoted as Eve is in her love for him, he has not won her real inmost assent to his theories. He recognizes that it would be unfair to bind her longer to a principle to which, though her love may accept it, her heart has never truly assented; and, as the sign of this recognition, he is married to her by the rites of the Church. The heart has conquered the head.

Thus sketched in outline, the story may seem thin and slight; but the characters, though lightly touched, are real, and the pathos is unstrained. We cannot, however, help thinking that the choice of names is a mistaken one. A drama in which the characters bear the names of Lucifer, Abdiel, Gabriel, Adam (an aged gravedigger), and Eve, raises expectations which the action of this play in no way justifies. It is only in the very slightest way that the characters answer to their prototypes, and their relations to one another are wholly different from those which the names suggest. One result of this use of familiar and, as it were, typical names is to cast a veil of unreality over the drama—to make the characters types instead of individuals; and this is exactly what is not wanted. The prince, his companion, the priest, the gravedigger, the village maidens, are real characters, and much of the merit of the poem lies in the personal interest aroused in them. It is a pity to weaken this by a trick of nomenclature. Apart from this, it is a pretty poem, and the verse, though not strong, is often pleasing, and shows more concentration than in Mr. Austin's previous work. As an example, let us quote Count Abdiel's description of his master's form of worship:

Eve. Where is the Chapel?

Abdiel.

On the snowy peaks,

In the long aisles of interlacing pines,
The dim religious light of hushed ravines,
And overhanging dome of spangled Heaven.
We are philosophers; we do not kneel
At carven altars in our orisons.
Our holy water is the morning dew,
Welled in the stoups of purple crocuses,
Our lamps the meteors of the dreaming night,
And silent darkness is our sanctuary.
The musk-rose is our thurible, and fumes
Invisible of incense float around
The shrine of our devotion. Every throat
In bush or glade, ether or lonely moor,
Enlisted is our chorister, and sings
Matins at dawn, vespers and lauds at eve,
And benediction always. When we need
The organ's diapason, then the stops
Of whirlwind and of thunder surge and roll
With awful usurpation of the soul,
That crouching trembles. This our ritual;
And with this floating immaterial creed
So skilfully we fish, we mean to hook
The gross and greedy gullets of mankind.
How like you our Evangel?

Eve. Earth and air,
I have been taught, are but God's tabernacle.
Therefore you worship freely nor amiss.¹

The Tower of Babel, though first published in 1890, is stated in its preface to have been composed seventeen years before that date, and it consequently ranks, so far at least as its plan and general outline are concerned, among its author's earliest works. It is, perhaps, not merely fanciful to see in it some of the characteristics of immaturity. The theme is so far removed from the present world and our present ideas that only a great creative poet could make it real to us. It is true, as Mr. Austin says in his preface, that man has not ceased to build Towers of Babel : but he builds them of other material than the clay of the plain of Shinar. We can take but little interest in the aspirations of the chief builder, Aran ; his schemes and his hopes are not made sufficiently vivid to us to enlist our sympathies. He is simply arrogant and fatuous, and we look forward with indifference to his certain defeat. And this sense of unreality—always the weak point in Mr. Austin's longer poems—is intensified by the fact of one of his characters, the spirit Afrael, being the inhabitant of another world. His conversations with Noema are told not ungracefully, but they, like the drama as a whole, leave us unmoved.

In 1891 Mr. Austin gathered into two volumes his shorter poems on various lyrical and narrative themes ; but these we will pass over for the present in order to complete our review of his dramatic works. *Fortunatus the Pessimist*, published in 1892, contains some of his best verse, but in dramatic construction it is weaker than all its predecessors. The first act ranks with Mr. Austin's best work. The leading characters—Fortunatus, the cynical, *blasé* prince ; Franklin, the educated country gentleman, who has learnt to find happiness in a due combination of culture and labour ; Urania, his equally charming and unaffected daughter, and Abaddon, a pedlar, or rather the Prince of Darkness masquerading in that guise—are well contrasted, and the conversations in which they reveal their several natures have a good deal of life and point ; but when the time comes for the characters to get into action, the drama fails. The action is of the slightest, the *dénouement* alike flat and improbable, and the repetition of Franklin's edifying sentiments becomes a trifle tedious. The first act, however, contains some lines that are worth quoting. Here Fortunatus catches a home truth :

¹ *Prince Lucifer*, p. 31.

Abaddon. 'Tis a plausible song. I wonder who wrote it.

Fort. One whom I knew in youth, fantastic swain,
To whom this passionless panorama, Life,
Appeared a throbbing wonder-world.

Abaddon. In flesh
Abides he still?

Fort. He went behind the scene,
And scanned the paint and pulleys. Caring not
To live as actor or as audience then,
He waiteth for the dropping of the curtain.

Abaddon. A Pessimist? His doom concerns me not.
He is damned already.¹

Here is Urania's philosophy, learnt in her garden :

Urania. You do not love your garden.

Fort. What is love?

Urania. 'Tis observation, patience, vigilance,
And infinite indulgence. Love is wisdom
In tender operation ; having no rights,
But, though a spendthrift, hourly growing richer
With ununsuriously giving.²

And here is the basis of Franklin's optimism :

Franklin. There was a time I had a feud with Death.
The hardest lesson wisdom has to learn
Is, having learnt to love and reverence life,
To learn serenely to relinquish it.

Behold to what a goodly world we come !
For us the spacious bounty of the air,
The impregnable pavilion of heaven,
And silent muster of the disciplined stars.
For us the sun replenished, and for us
The punctual patience of the lonely moon ;
The planetary seasons moving round
Their stately soundless orbits, fostering life
In blade, leaf, flower, blossom, and reddening fruit ;
The mountains motionless, the mobile sea,
Freshness of dawn and frankincense of eve,
And vestal hush of meditative night.
Paupers we come into a world prepared
As for some regal guest ; prepared, arrayed,
With temples, shrines, and statues of the gods,
Cathedrals where unfaltering twilight dwells,
Subduing souls to sympathy and prayer :
Lakes, woods, and waterfalls, and cities girt
With walls majestic circling sumptuous tombs
Of sceptres superseded, thrones interred.³

¹ *Fortunatus the Pessimist*, p. 28.

² *Ibid.* p. 45.

³ *Ibid.* p. 72.

The whole speech, which is too long to quote, seems to us to come nearer than anything else in Mr. Austin to the possession of that indefinable quality of distinction, or style, in which his blank verse, as a rule, is wholly deficient. Fluency he has always, but distinction seldom.

Mr. Austin has written one other drama, his latest published work (if we may forget some unfortunate contributions to newspapers), entitled *England's Darling*. The preface opens with the unlucky assertion that Alfred the Great, the hero of the piece, 'has never been celebrated by an English poet'; unlucky, since it laid him open to the retort that Alfred had been chosen for the subject of a poem, not only by several other writers, but by another Laureate, Pye, with whom Mr. Austin might not care to couple himself too closely. However, true it is that Alfred had never been worthily sung by an English poet. We doubt if he has been so yet. Mr. Austin's drama, though scrupulously faithful to the history and the legends of Alfred, is too slight and brief for its subject. He succeeds fairly well in depicting the loveableness of Alfred, but hardly in conveying an impression of his greatness. The botany-lesson which Alfred and Edgiva give one another, just before the crisis of the drama, both diverts the interest at the moment when it should be concentrated, and is itself a rather trivial display of acquaintance with the traditions of cottage plant-lore. Alfred's share in writing the English Chronicle is rather dragged in by the heels. The prophecies of England's future naval greatness are too obvious to be effective. On the other hand the representation of Alfred is sympathetic, the love passages between Edward and Edgiva are bright and pleasant, and there are some effective songs and speeches; as when Edward tells of his coming to his tryst with Edgiva:

'Then, as I crossed the Parrett where it swirls
Swelled by the Ile and Yeo, a mottled trout,
That motionless beneath an alder kept
Its poise against the current, sudden scared,
Flashed like a flying shadow through the stream,
And was no more; and like to it I sped,
Swift up the windings of the wave that points
The pathway to your home. The ladysmocks
Smiled on me as I passed, 'She waits! she waits!'
And every wilding windflower that I bruised
Seemed to upbraid the slowness of my feet.
And so I was too soon,—love always is,—
And made a pastime of this flowery chain
To link you to me still when I am gone.

Look ! when it fades, frame you another like it,
And then another, that the woven bond
Betwixt us twain may never be undone.¹

Another passage which deserves quotation is the first part of the song which Alfred, disguised, sings in the presence of Guthrum and the Danish chiefs. It imitates, without slavishly copying, the alliterative measures of the earliest English poetry :

'In the Beginning when, out of darkness,
The Earth, the Heaven,
The stars, the seasons,
The mighty mainland
And whale-ploughed water,
By God the Maker
Were formed and fashioned,
Then God made England.

He made it shapely
With land-locked inlets,
And gray-green nesses ;
With rivers roaming
From fair-leaved forests
Through windless valleys,
Past plain and pasture,
To sloping shingle :
Thus God made England.²

What the play lacks is greater elaboration, greater strength. As it stands, in spite of a good central conception and some successful scenes, it rather indicates the possibilities of the subject than itself treats of them adequately.

We have reviewed Mr. Austin's dramas at some length, because they represent by far the greater bulk of his work, and are presumably that part of it on which he expects especially to be judged by posterity. But it is probably to his shorter poems that he owes his present titular primacy in English verse. It is in them especially that he has been able to express those patriotic sentiments which no doubt pointed him out to the Queen's advisers as a suitable Laureate. In fact, his sonnets, lyrics, and narrative poems are very largely devoted to those two themes which have been noted above as the especial characteristics of his verse—love of Country and love of the country. On these topics his sentiments are unimpeachable, but his expression of them, we are forced to confess, seems to us seldom to rise above the commonplace. It is very praiseworthy that a poet should note, and make

¹ *England's Darling*, p. 29.

² *Id.* p. 85.

use of, the changing phenomena of nature, the habits and characteristics of birds and beasts ; but a mere enumeration of these does not make poetry.

Νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσῳ πλέον ἤμιν παντός.

We should not venture to call Mr. Austin νήπιος, but he certainly does not seem to have realised 'how far the half is greater than the whole.' He can hardly mention that it is spring (and he mentions it very often) without giving us an inventory of all the sights and sounds of the season ; nor are we spared the more when he comes to speak of summer or of autumn. We weary of the cuckoo and the primroses, the 'yaffel' and the 'ladysmocks.' There is more of the spirit of spring in the eight lines of Browning's 'Oh ! to be in England, now that April's there,' than in the twelve pages of Mr. Austin's 'Defence of English Spring ;'¹ more poetic sense of a bird's song in the well-known lines

'Hark, where my blossomed pear-tree in the hedge
Leans to the field and scatters on the clover
Blossoms and dew-drops—at the bent spray's edge—
That's the wise thrush ; he sings each song twice over,
Lest you should think he never could recapture
The first fine careless rapture,'²

than in Mr. Austin's treatment of the same theme, respectable though it is :

'The thrush runs revelling all along
The spacious gamut of his song ;
Varies, inverts, repeats the strain,
Then sings it different again.
The blackbird, less expert than he,
Coaxes and scolds alternately ;
Then, with a sudden scream and rush,
Is off into another bush,
Feigning to fear for life and limb,
Though none have interfered with him.'³

Or take one of the poems classed as 'narrative,' though it might be more rightly described as 'meditative.' This is *At the Gate of the Convent*, which certainly holds a high place among Mr. Austin's minor poems. Its subject inevitably recalls Matthew Arnold's *Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse*. In each case the appeal of the monastic ideal drives the poet to meditate on his own manner of life. In Mr. Austin's poem

¹ *Lyrical Poems*, p. 9.

² Browning, *Home Thoughts from Abroad*.

³ *Lyrical Poems*, p. 15.

the Prior directly calls on him to join them, but the poet, listening rather to the birds around him than to the speaker, is unmoved from his satisfaction with his own career :

'Father, forgive!' I said ; 'and look !
Who taught its carolling to the merle ?
Who wed the music to the brook ?
Who decked the thorn with flakes of pearl ?

'Twas He, you answer, that did make
Earth, sea, and sky : He maketh all ;
The gleeful notes that flood the brake,
The sad notes wailed in Convent stall.

'And my poor voice He also made ;
And like the brook, and like the bird,
And like your brethren mute and staid,
I too can but fulfil His word.

'Were I about my loins to tie
A girdle, and to hold in scorn
Beauty and Love, what then were I
But songless stream, but flowerless thorn ?'¹

The verses are smooth, graceful, not ineffective ; but how do they compare with the austere, the pathetic self-questionings of Arnold's exquisite poem ?

'For vigorous teachers seized my youth,
And purged its faith and trimm'd its fire,
Shew'd me the high, white star of Truth,
There bade me gaze, and there aspire.
Even now their whispers pierce the gloom :
What dost thou in this living tomb ?

Forgive me, masters of the mind !
At whose behest I long ago
So much unlearn'd, so much resign'd—
I come not here to be your foe !
I seek these anchorites, not in ruth,
To curse or to deny your truth.

* * * * *

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born,
With nowhere yet to rest my head,
Like these, on earth I wait forlorn.
Their faith, my tears, the world deride—
I come to shed them at their side.'²

We have tried to present Mr. Austin's poems in a fair light ;

¹ *Narrative Poems*, p. 142.

² Arnold, *Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse*.

to quote favourable specimens from them, and at some length, that our readers may judge of their quality for themselves ; to discover merits, as is the first and highest duty of the critic, not to pick holes ; and yet, with the best will in the world to find in him a poet of really notable achievement, we feel obliged to confess failure. His phrases do not stay in the memory. His descriptions of spring do not rise to our lips on a beautiful day, as do those of Browning and Wordsworth. His blank verse is as far as may be from the music of Tennyson. His patriotic poems, even when they do not sink to the level of the music halls, ring thin and common beside the sonnets with which Wordsworth met the challenge of Napoleon.

It may be said that this is to try Mr. Austin by too high a standard ; and had we been writing six months ago, such comparisons would indeed have been uncalled for. But his recent elevation inevitably brings Mr. Austin into competition with the great names of our modern literature. It would be a poor compliment to say that he could not even be compared with half-a-dozen other poets of the present reign, even though from the comparison he comes out but indifferently. As a 'minor poet,' he held a respectable, but not distinguished, position. As a Laureate of the last century, he would have borne comparison with his fellows, and even have emerged from it with credit on account of his genuine patriotism and his love of outdoor life. It is only when the laurel is regarded as conferring a primacy among living poets, only when he is brought into comparison with those who have worn it during the present century, and with the greatest of those who have not attained to it, that Mr. Austin compels us to speak of him in terms which imply failure and disappointment.

ART. IX.—THE GURNEYS OF EARLHAM.

The Gurneys of Earlham. By AUGUSTUS J. C. HARE, Author of *Memorials of a Quiet Life, The Story of Two Noble Lives*, &c. Two Volumes. (London, 1895.)

It was a happy thought which prompted the editor of these volumes to draw up in a compendious form some memorial of the Gurneys of Earlham. The family was well worthy of being rescued from the oblivion which quickly passes over all save those in the very front rank of human interest, and their

virtues were none the less deserving of being had in prolonged remembrance that they were largely of the unobtrusive domestic type, exercised in that inner world which forms the true life of most of us, and which is sadly apt to be overlooked in this day of ceaseless restlessness and glaring publicity. Several of the Gurneys, indeed, earned considerable notoriety in their day—Joseph John as banker, scholar, preacher, author, and philanthropist; Samuel as head of the great house of bill brokers Overend & Gurney, one of the chiefest City firms, whose fall in 1866 marked a dark day indeed in England's commercial history; Mrs. Fry, known within her own community as a gifted prophetess, and beyond it throughout Europe as the devoted friend of female prisoners and advocate of prison reform; and, closely connected with them, Thomas Fowell Buxton, brother-in-law and intimate from childhood, the ally of Clarkson and Wilberforce in the suppression of the slave trade and the reform of criminal procedure. Such a family would surely afford that material for instructive study which one would not readily let die, and its lessons for after years would be all the more weighty if, as in the present instance, its members were addicted to writing from childhood full chronicles of their inner and outer lives, and had so left to posterity a precious key to the secret of their spiritual growth. And it adds greatly, in our judgment, to the impressiveness of these lessons, which they never thought of teaching, that the Gurneys in their earlier generations did not enjoy any of the advantages of Church teaching or of inward strengthening and refreshing through sacramental grace, although some members of the family in riper years became devoted members of the Church of the days of Wilberforce and Simeon.

Of course the most valuable of these lessons are not those which lie palpably on the surface, although these, too, doubtless have their use. The story of the public career, religious and philanthropic, of the different members of the Gurney family has already been amply told, and what Mr. Hare calls their 'wonderful harmony and unity, which no difference of mere opinion [!] could dim or alter,' and which 'influenced all their thoughts and stimulated all their actions,' is so transparent throughout their journals that none but the blindest could overlook it. But we look for something more than this. We have a right to expect in the treatment of such precious matter not merely the bill-sticker's art of skilfully wielding paste and scissors, in which Mr. Augustus J. C. Hare

is so practised an adept, but the sympathetic insight of a true critic, who knows how to read between the lines, to adorn with a passing touch, to suggest an inner meaning, to trace a clue of no less worth because it is not immediately discernible. It is not that we desire the perpetual and palpable supervision of the editor nor the irritating commentary which 'holds a farthing candle to the sun'; but surely the man who puts before the world a group of lives as specially worth our attention should himself, by patient and painstaking study, have extracted the very pith and marrow of their thought, should trace out the more subtle and delicate lines of feeling which give the charm to their correspondence, and should detect and set before his readers the secret forces which made these men and women what they were—not by the bare statement of the obvious fact that it was their religion which leavened their lives, but by discriminating indication of the individual conditions and varied methods through which the influence of their Christianity wrought its results. For such helps the reader will turn in vain to Mr. Hare. Facile bookmaking and subtlety of insight are, perhaps incompatible with one another, and even so prolific an author as Mr. Hare—he has already compiled thirty volumes—cannot fill a whole bookshelf with solid thought. Yet, from the editor's point of view, the work is not altogether badly done. Even paste and scissors have their use.

It would be interesting to learn the special circumstances under which it came to pass that the members of the Society of Friends became so widely engaged in banking business in the latter half of the last century. It speaks volumes for the general estimate of its integrity that a small community, holding largely aloof from their fellow-citizens, should have been the accepted trustees of other people's money almost all over England. No doubt the closer relations which unite the members of a small sect, and the increased mutual acquaintance and confidence which result from these relations, gave them a great advantage over any competitors, and the net thus woven gradually spread until it enclosed a very substantial share of a profession only then becoming general. The movement was accelerated by the great expansion of inland trade at this period, and by the commercial ties between the agricultural and manufacturing districts. In the first instance most Quaker bankers combined some other branch of trade with their banks, and as the importance of the latter increased it naturally engrossed their whole attention. Whatever may have been the cause the fact is unquestionable.

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From the Cornish coast to the banks of the Tyne, throughout East Anglia and West Yorkshire, in the classic seat of money-dealers in Lombard Street as well as in towns scattered over the pastures of Leicester and Northampton, Quaker bankers were everywhere to be found. Their names were legion—Gurneys, Barclays, Bevans, Alcocks, Birkbecks, Williamsses, Alexanders, Leathams, Peckovers, Harrises, and countless others. The profession was in those days highly lucrative, and the opportunities for making large profits such as bankers do not now enjoy. We have heard of a single deposit of 800,000*l.* left for years with bankers at one per cent. and lent out by them at five. No section of English society in the closing decades of the last century and the opening ones of the present grew more rapidly in wealth and public esteem.

Amongst those who followed, at the time to which we have been referring, the rules of Christian living drawn up by George Fox in the days of the Commonwealth none ranked higher in East Anglia than the Gurney family. They claimed descent from the ancient barons of Gournay, in Normandy, and had the bluest of blue blood running in their veins, which showed itself when they braved the tyranny of the English law in 1683 as courageously as their ancestors had fought in the battle of Hastings. By the latter half of the seventeenth century the Gurney manors and baronies had long been lost, and John Gurney, citizen and cordwainer, a man of good substance, went unflinching to Norwich gaol for three years, peaceful and loyal subject though he was, rather than take an oath of allegiance at which his conscience scrupled. Joseph, the second son of this John, and husband of Hannah Middleton, of Darlington—'the fair Quakeress'—added largely to the family estate, which was further augmented by his eldest son, John, who introduced the manufacture of home-spun yarn into Norwich from the south of Ireland, and died worth 100,000*l.*, a very large fortune in those days. 'This John Gurney,' Mr. Hare tells us, 'was a very strict Quaker, and his journals of religious reflection still exist—of the same introspective kind as that which were [*sic*] so popular with his grandchildren' (i. 13, note ²). His second son, yet another John, married in 1773 Catherine, great-granddaughter of Robert Barclay, author of the *Quaker's Apology*, and sister of Priscilla Wakefield, the writer of many children's books of great but now long-forgotten popularity. It is this last John Gurney and Catherine, his wife, who eventually, in 1786, became tenants of Earlham and heads of the family with which we are now concerned.

It is worth while to pause a moment in order to consider the pedigree here supplied of the Earlham Gurneys in the light of the revived Horatian doctrine of heredity. 'Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis.' So the Latin poet sang centuries before Mr. Galton took up the theory, which he would test more ably than we can in the instance before us. On both sides the Earlham Gurneys were sprung from men of that strong fibre which breeds martyrs, the great-grandfathers of both father and mother—the cordwainer and country squire alike—being content to suffer for conscience sake. On both sides they inherited a marked predisposition for literary ability, which was directed in each case to religious questions. On both sides they had a prescriptive claim to personal beauty. Their paternal grandmother, as we have seen, was 'the fair Quakeress'; their own mother was a beautiful subject in one of Gainsborough's best known and most exquisite examples of portraiture, and their father esteemed one of the best-looking men in Norfolk. Depth of spiritual fervour, all the courage of their convictions, no mean literary ability, great personal attractions—a goodly heritage truly, according to the teaching of heredity, should be theirs; and they each and all had it, of course in varying proportion and degree. So true and pure was the strain in one special instance that the description of Robert Barclay the Apologist might serve, without the alteration of a single word, for his great-great-grandson, Joseph John Gurney:

'a man of eminent gifts and great endowments, expert not only in the language of the learned, but also well versed in the writings of the ancient Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, being not only of a sound judgment, but also strong in argument. . . . He loved the truth and the way of God, and was not ashamed of it among men . . . a learned man, a good Christian, an able minister, a dutiful son and a loving husband, a tender and careful father' (i. 15).

In moral, intellectual, and physical qualities the eleven children of John and Catherine Gurney were not unworthy of their high ancestry. John Gurney of Earlham's large family must have formed a charming group; well-favoured and good to look upon withal, and still more remarkable for qualities mental and spiritual of no common order. As we gaze upon their portraits in Mr. Hare's volumes the character of each one shines out vividly—the sprightliness of Mrs. Cunningham, the 'director' of Lowestoft, with her pleasant word for every parishioner, a model of a genial pastor's wife, bright, accessible, indefatigable, spiritual; and my Lady Buxton with a suspicion of womanly keenness discernible under the

refined features ; and the sweet motherly dignity of the eldest sister, Catherine, and the stately benevolence, with just one look of self-consciousness, in the face of Mrs. Fry. Their pictures do but justice to these well-bred women, in whose life-long correspondence we cannot recall a thought unworthy of a Christian gentlewoman. And the sons too, not a whit inferior in mind or in person, with their massive forms and their upright bearing and their handsome faces—we remember Samuel Gurney to this hour with his grand, hoary head, a true crown of glory—and the calm, Quaker geniality beaming in their thoughtful eyes.

When John and Catherine Gurney settled at Earham their household was not by any means conducted after the fashion of strict Quakerism. Drawing, music, and dancing were all freely indulged in. The most generous and cordial hospitality was extended to a large circle of friends, which included Unitarians, Roman Catholics, and Churchmen, as well as members of 'the Society.' A whole bevy of relations lived within easy reach. Dick Gurney, as he was familiarly called, John's elder brother, a keen sportsman of large means, and joint proprietor, with his wife's relations, of Barclay and Perkins's Brewery, and Joseph, the younger, with a family of daughters, were on terms of the closest intimacy at Earham, and some of them dropped in daily at the family dinner hour. With no sordid cares, with ample means for keeping open house, with many cultivated tastes, there was one danger which threatened the younger members of the Gurney family. A laxity of religious tone prevailed amongst many of their associates, against which Mrs. Gurney was warned to no purpose. She had laid down as a strict rule for herself that she would not inculcate upon her children the opinions of any sect whatever, but simply the divine truths set forth in the New Testament.

'She urged prayer upon them, but at the same time advised them never to attempt to pray unless they felt that they could give their undivided minds to Him who delighted to bless them, and she implored them never to dwell upon trifles in prayer, in which—being immediately before Him—she considered that they should be able to raise to Him their undivided heart and soul in loving adoration' (i. 27).

What the result would have been of rigidly applying this plan in the bringing up of eleven children it is not for us to decide. Possibly Mrs. Gurney might have modified her ideas ; for as the preachers who were entertained at Earham gained larger influence over her she imposed greater restric-

tions, which the elder children strongly resented. But the mother's days were numbered before her system could be thoroughly tested. Six years after their settlement at Earlham, when her youngest-born, Daniel, was only fifteen months old, she was called away, and Catherine, the eldest of the Gurney sisters, was placed by her father at the head of the Earlham household. Years afterwards she wrote—

'We were left, I not seventeen, wholly ignorant of common life, from the retirement in which we had been educated, quite unprepared for filling an important station and unaccustomed to act on independent principles. Still, my father placed me at the head of the family—a continual weight and pain which wore my health and spirits. I never again had the joy and glee of youth' (i. 34).

Never was unwelcome and overpowering responsibility more nobly and conscientiously borne. Mrs. Catherine, as she was soon called, ruled with a firm but loving hand; directed her sisters' education, devoted herself with absolute disinterestedness to the welfare of each and all, maintained an authority which none ever desired to call in question, and to a ripe old age was the unobtrusive but acknowledged centre of blessing to the whole family, and of the love and unity whose cultivation she urged unceasingly upon them.

It is amusing in the light of after years to read of the light-hearted gaiety which prevailed at Earlham under Mrs. Catherine's strict but judicious government. The whole house was alive with innocent merriment, with games of hide and seek amongst its 'eighty cupboards,' with glee-singing and carpet dances, which all enjoyed immensely; with outdoor rambles and scampers on their ponies. The reader may picture the group of beautiful laughing girls dressed in scarlet riding habits. On one occasion they made up a party of fifteen, and rode forth on as many donkeys, with all the pranks in which such a cavalcade could indulge; on another the seven sisters linked themselves arm in arm and so barricaded the road against the mail coach in its ascent of the neighbouring hill. But beneath this joyous exterior serious mischief was brewing. The religion of the whole family was being rapidly undermined. Through their intimacy with a Unitarian family—the Enfields, of much intellectual cultivation and personal charm—the young Gurneys began to read Rousseau, to cherish sceptical opinions, to waver in their convictions of truth and duty. The girls' journals of this period contain many uncomplimentary references to 'that disgusting Goats,' the Norwich meeting-house, and not a few avowals of unbelief in the Gospel record. Worse than

all, an intense attachment had sprung up between Rachel Gurney and Henry Enfield, to Mr. Gurney's deep distress, who insisted on a separation of two years from all intercourse between the families. Others of their acquaintance went even beyond the Enfields in their scepticism, and opinions begun in mere sentiment had advanced to downright infidelity.

To a young Roman Catholic friend, Mr. John Pitchford, and to Mr. Kinghorn, the Baptist minister at Norwich, the young Gurneys were indebted for assistance very worthily and discreetly afforded in recovering their faith in Christianity. It is singular to mark in what sundry ways and diverse manners they were led through their spiritual conflicts, their guides being so strangely assorted a pair and themselves eventually becoming fervent Churchmen or 'plain Quakers.' Young Pitchford was for months a constant visitor, on one occasion spending seventeen consecutive hours at Earlham, largely in sentimental fashion, reading *Peregrinus Porteus* before breakfast, then treating the delighted audience with *excerpta* from his journal, and occasionally blundering into passages of tender admiration for Rachel, whose winning graces and beauty had captivated him. Music and conversation followed, with the recitation of the *Deserted Village* and Gray's *Elegy* by twilight in the churchyard, amidst vows of undying friendship. No wonder the widowed father found it necessary to put a stop to such romantic philandering. Yet, despite the alloy of sentimentalism, the young man's words of earnest and genuine Christian entreaty told on more than one of his hearers.

It is impossible within the limits of our article to trace the spiritual growth of each of the seven sisters. The change began with Elizabeth, who had been hitherto the gayest and brightest amongst them, the most fond of display in dress, the most eager for admiration. Forthwith she adopted 'the most straitest' Quaker restrictions, to the great grief of her family, who remonstrated in vain. Music, drawing, literature, painting were all so sternly laid aside that she refused even to look at a portrait which Opie was painting of her father. But before finally yielding to her vocation she asked and obtained leave to visit London and for a short period to enjoy full experience of its pleasures—theatres, concerts, balls—to which she then bade an eternal farewell. Had she lived in days when the Church offered a welcome and a function to consecrated women she might have found, perhaps, place within its bosom for the exercise of those high qualities

that shed lustre on the Quaker community, to which her early marriage with Joseph Fry helped indissolubly to bind her. The eldest sister, Catherine, was led by a different path and through deeper waters.

'I had to work my way,' she writes, 'through much obscurity and difficulty and discouragement, or rather it was worked out for me, and I can best describe my experience by Prov. xx. 24, "A man's goings are of the Lord; how then can he understand his own way?" I read and I thought, and I was very grave, and my mind was deeply occupied by religious subjects. I had very little taste or inclination for anything else' (i. 120).

What manner of person she was in the family over which she presided we shall learn directly. Meanwhile Rachel, the third of the elder group of sisters—in strict order they were Catherine, Rachel, and Elizabeth—during the prescribed period of separation from Henry Enfield had also gone through a great change of feeling on religious subjects, a change with which he had small sympathy, and which resulted in a final estrangement, whose scars Rachel Gurney carried to her grave. Through daily study of Holy Scripture and the diligent cultivation of a remarkable gift for serving others, she, too, gradually found a secure resting-place. From such more advanced phases of practical Christianity it may seem strange to turn to the journals of the younger sisters, who were still quite children. But children are acute observers of character, and the Gurney family had been trained by Mrs. Catherine to keep a diary of their daily thoughts and interests. It is, therefore, of much interest to trace in the diary of a girl of thirteen, with her outspoken dislikes, and possibly not very reasonable sympathies, in all its crudity of hastily formed judgments and its extravagance of unchastened expression, how gradually and beautifully her character is being moulded under the eldest sister's loving guidance. The exquisite delicacy, the unflinching watchfulness, the tender concern of Catherine towards each member of the large family in which she was called to fill a mother's place is so revealed that we are filled with admiration for the affectionate, childish discernment of the younger sister, as well as for the noble dutifulness of the elder.

It would be hard to find a more exquisite picture of an intelligent, thoughtful, humble-minded Christian gentlewoman than that which Catherine Gurney all unconsciously displays in the journals which were doubtless intended only for her own perusal and in the intimacy of correspondence with sisters or closest friends. She had passed through deep

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waters of mental anxiety, but not one exaggerated expression is introduced to pourtray a distress which was steadfastly faced and which she conquered by unwearied study of Holy Scripture and such books of solid theology as Dr. Wordsworth and other friends recommended to her; and it was on the foundation thus laid that the superstructure was gradually raised.

'I cannot enumerate,' she writes, 'all the books that occupied me in succession, but, above all, Butler was the turning-point, and on my mind the most influential of anything I ever read. It had a very strong and permanent influence on my mode in religion, if I may so express it, and I trace to it many things in myself which might appear to have no connexion with this kind of foundation work. My own sense of it is that I have always had more sound and comprehensive views of religion, even in subordinate points, from my study of Butler. Afterwards I came to Pearson and parts of Hooker, which confirmed all that had gone before. But these I did not read till after I knew Dr. Wordsworth' (i. 120).

The acquaintance thus formed with the famous Master of Trinity, and which proved of such essential service, had come about through his marriage with Priscilla Lloyd, an intimate friend of the Gurneys, and the settlement of the newly-married pair at the living of Oby, near Norwich. The times had greatly changed since George Fox had been wont to denounce all churches as useless 'steeple-houses,' and the clergy, with few exceptions, as hypocritical deceivers; and Mr. John Gurney was on terms of such intimacy with the Bishop of Norwich that they occasionally exchanged horses when a proposed journey was thought to be more suitable for the prelate's pair than for the four which were generally harnessed to the Earlham carriage. Hardly less astounding to the principles of the earlier Friends would have been the indulgence in such frivolous vanities as music and drawing, the latter especially being held in such esteem at Earlham that old Crome was engaged to accompany the family as drawing-master on a stately progress to the Lakes, an expedition in which Fowell Buxton also joined. On such occasions—and there are several such recorded—there was abundant opportunity during the leisurely progress of posting to admire something more than the scenery passed by a young couple seated together in 'the dickey,' and a mutual understanding could be arrived at with less embarrassment than under the fire of half a dozen keen pairs of eyes, which more than once watched the *dénouement* of a marriage proposal. After such a journey with Hannah Gurney young Fowell Buxton deter-

mined to win all possible distinction at Dublin University, that he might lay his honours at her feet; and nobly he fulfilled his resolve.

It is difficult to restrain a feeling of envy as we read of the simple natural life, so full of health, both bodily and mental, passed at the seaside a century ago—the early rising, the open hospitality, the scampers on horseback over the sands, the picnics in the woods, the mornings spent in outdoor sketching, the evenings blithe with music and dancing—the enjoyment is so genuine, the fun so innocent, the whole tone so inimitably charming. With what unaffected satisfaction the lively Richenda writes to her dearly-loved but serious sister at Mildred Court the account of their days spent in a way that exactly suits the time and the party. All are left at perfect liberty to do as they like all day, but hardly a day passes without their being together.

‘When all are met it is an uncommonly pretty sight—such a number of young women, and so many, if not pretty, very nice-looking. I wish thee could have seen us the other afternoon. Sally gave a great entertainment at the Hall, where everybody met, the ladies almost all dressed in white gowns and blue sashes, with nothing on their heads: after dinner we all stood on a wall, eighteen of us, and it really was one of the prettiest sights I ever saw’ (i. 127, 128).

Nor can anything be more completely unconventional than the etiquette which prevailed—running in all directions on the sands before breakfast, receiving callers at ten o’clock in the morning, having company to dine at midday (‘we always dine in the kitchen: Nurse is our cook, and makes a very good one’), short afternoons and long evenings. ‘With all these and other delightful amusements,’ says this bright girl of one-and-twenty, ‘and this pleasant party, it would be very odd if we did not enjoy ourselves.’ It would have been very odd indeed!

Yet whilst the young people were giving themselves up to such unreserved enjoyment the minds of their elders were filled with serious anxiety lest Napoleon’s threatened invasion of England should be carried out. The silver streak had proved for centuries so effectual a rampart that England was then, as now, bare of fortified places within which her people might retire for protection, and in their absence it sounds strange to learn that Mr. Gurney bethought him of the spot which had afforded a refuge to our Saxon forefathers in the days of Danish inroads. How vivid were the apprehensions which were felt of a French landing on the Norfolk coast is shown us in a letter from Priscilla Gurney to Elizabeth Fry. So serious

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did the danger appear that when Mr. Gurney was obliged to go to Liverpool he ordered four carriages to be kept ready to start at a moment's notice. But we will let Miss Priscilla speak for herself; her letter is dated Earldham, November 14, 1803.

'My father is going to Lynn this afternoon. From Lynn he will continue his journey to Liverpool, and I suppose will not return for a fortnight. I think we shall be in a very unprotected state if the French should land whilst my father is away, without a single man, or even a boy, to take care of us. We had quite a serious conference about it yesterday morning: there would have been entertained to have heard the various plans that were proposed. It is, however, now finally settled that as soon as ever we hear the news of their arrival, we six [the six sisters], Danny and Nurse, and if we can manage it Molly and Anne, are immediately to set off in the coach and four for Ely, where we are to take up our abode, as my father thinks it a very safe place, being so completely surrounded by marshes. I hope as soon as ever you hear of the French being landed in Norfolk you will imagine us setting off post-haste for Ely... My father intends to write down directions for every individual of the family, so that there may be no confusion or bustle when the moment of danger arrives, if ever it does arrive' (i. 130, 131).

These glimpses of home life ninety years ago will enable the reader in some degree to estimate the tone and temper of the Gurney women. A few words must be devoted to their brothers. Of these John and Daniel, the eldest and youngest, became gradually estranged from Quaker principles, and their names occur so seldom in Mr. Hare's pages that we need not dwell upon them. Over each and all of them the elder sisters watched with apprehensive anxiety, that occasionally was not a little trying, bewailing John's good looks and engaging manners as snares liable to entangle him with those pleasures from which they themselves were more and more retreating. Samuel, the second brother, put to business at a very early age, was sheltered in his sister's home at Mildred Court, where Joseph Fry's bank was located, and with his natural sweetness of disposition and under the guardianship of so watchful an eye he was held to be adequately protected. But Joseph John, the third, was going to spend two years at Oxford, with Mr. John Rogers as his tutor, and Mrs. Catherine's letters to him were filled with serious advice and sagacious warnings.

The mind of Joseph John Gurney was cast in no common mould. He had the invaluable capacity of untiring application so strongly developed that he did not object to working fourteen hours a day, and translating the whole of Longinus as a single day's task.

'I have read this week,' he wrote to his sister Rachel, 'almost half through one of *Æschylus's* plays, a great deal of *Thucydides* and *Josephus*, two or three acts of *Plautus*, a great part of *Caligula's* reign in *Suetonius*, four cantos of *Dante* and a proportionate part of *Davila*; a tolerable number of verses in the Hebrew Bible, some *Euclid*, and a great deal of algebra; a crowd of German grammarians, with portions of *Locke*, *Gregory*, and *Ferguson*. Besides these things I have been employed by exercises of all kinds, Latin verses, chemical lectures, and, to conclude the whole, the composition of a long dissertation in Greek;—rather a good week's work' (i. 145).

Such intellectual activity and width of study is indeed astounding in a young man of seventeen, and his spiritual development was no less remarkable. He had formed the closest habits of introspection, and in his twentieth year had entered in his journal the following list of questions, which he put to himself each evening:

'Have I to-day been guarded in conversation, saying nothing inconsistent with purity, truth, or charity?

'Have I felt love towards my neighbour?

'Have I done my part towards my own family?

'Have I been temperate, free from unlawful desires, habits, and anxieties?

'Have I been diligent in business?

'Have I given full time to effectual study?

'Have I admitted any other fear than that of God?

'Have I passed the day in deep humility, depending constantly upon, and earnestly aspiring after, divine assistance?

'Have I in everything acted to the best of my knowledge according to the will of God?

'Have I worshipped Him morning and evening?' (i. 146.)

It would be difficult to find a loftier, a more comprehensive, or a more justly-balanced scheme of daily self-examination than this, which was thought out and acted upon at an age when most educated young men are but commencing their University career, but when *Joseph John Gurney* was already actively employed in the bank at *Norwich*.

Before the death of *John Gurney of Earham*, on October 28, 1809, his eldest daughter, *Catherine*, and his eldest son, *John*, had become members of the Church of England. *Mrs. Fry*, with *Rachel* and *Priscilla*, who both died unmarried, were in due season ministers in the Society, as was also very conspicuously *Joseph John*, and, in more retiring fashion, *Samuel Gurney*. The other four sisters—*Hannah (Lady Buxton)*, *Richenda (Mrs. Cunningham)*, *Louisa (Mrs. Hoare)*, and even *Rachel*—all sooner or later became Churchwomen. Their unbroken affection for each other, despite this severance of

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outward religious profession, finds abundant illustration in their copious correspondence, of which Mr. Hare gives us abundant, but not excessive, measure. To us the chief charm of these volumes consists in the insight they afford into the inner lives of the Gurneys, although we could have wished that the editor had compressed his work within narrower limits. It is difficult to tell what class of minds is really benefited by the perpetual reiteration time after time of the same thoughts expressed in almost identical language, and breathing that spirit of depression which commonly follows upon the morbid and daily analysis of every shade of feeling. At times too we are haunted by a sense of unreality when we meet with exclamations upon the vanity of rank inserted amongst visits by the Quaker pilgrims to various royalties, of which they seem not a little proud, and by the conviction that suggestions for more Bible-reading and better Sabbath-keeping—we only quote this as a specimen—to the Orleans Princes, although doubtless faithful testimony, were hardly so effective as to need reproduction here. So much of Mrs. Fry's work appears to us, like the second volume, which relates it, essentially scrappy; and the same criticism applies to several forms of philanthropy in which the Gurneys had a share. We have no wish to depreciate the lasting service which Mrs. Fry rendered in the improvement of prisons, nor Joseph John Gurney's work for the Bible Society, nor Fowell Buxton's efforts in the suppression of slavery. All honour to them for their labours and for the faith which prompted them. But the inspiration which despatched some of them on long journeys for Evangelistic purposes—journeys which only wealthy people could afford, and in which they were fêted and extolled—weighs lightly in the balance of our judgment against the unnoticed, unobtrusive, but persistent, steady work of a poor over-burdened curate in some miserable slum.

Our favourites amongst the sisters are Catherine and Richenda, the former in her own line quite inimitable. Rarely, indeed, was any one gifted with so sound a judgment, tempered by the tenderest affection. She had a wonderful capacity for realizing the exact measure of apparently conflicting duties, and the happiest manner of faithfully enforcing it. No mother, rich in the experience acquired through long years, could have written wiser counsels than did this excellent woman to sisters who were only a few years her juniors. No jealousy of the new affections and ties they formed ever touched her. In her unwedded loneliness, passed for some

years under the roof of an imperious, unsympathetic sister-in-law of narrow Quaker prejudices, this solitary woman bids her sisters make their own husbands their first concern. They are not to think too much of Earham, not to be dependent on it, not even to come to visit it, if their husbands' comfort requires them to be elsewhere. She bids them bravely bear the trial of being much alone after the joyous large home-circle they have left, and to which her own loving heart would have leapt for joy to welcome them back again.

We would gladly have transferred to our pages the whole of the exquisitely tender and modest letter in which Catherine directs her sister Hannah's mind point after point to the true sources of hope and consolation under her home anxieties and the sorrow caused by her father's death and her separation from the family at Earham. She urges that we must seek first the kingdom of God, and then, that our hearts may be more effectually weaned from the world, we must prepare ourselves to meet with suffering as we pass through this wilderness.

'And as to separation,' she continues, 'I do not think there can be any *real* separation where we are all united, as I believe we are, under one great Head, who will preserve our union for us. If we were ever so much separated in person and in earthly pursuits I consider that we are in fact *indissolubly* united by the only tie which can last, or can have any security. And the more we can cling to the spiritual tie, and that only, the more peace we shall have and the less disturbance from outward circumstances of any kind.'

And, she adds, how beautiful is that collect in which the Church leads us to pray 'that our hearts may surely there be *fixed* where true joys are to be found.' Before we quote the rest of this letter in full it may be well to remember that the writer, then in her thirty-fourth year, is addressing a sister some seven years her junior, that we may the better appreciate the quiet depth of Christian feeling, the lucid grasp of spiritual truth, and the delicate tact which shine out in its lines.

'As I long to be of some help to thee, love, and to cheer thee if I can, I must open to thee a little on what I am sure is the only source of strength and consolation, for it is quite in vain to look to the creatures to comfort us. "Every creature is that to us, and no more than God makes it to be;" therefore in whatever way or degree the creatures are the cause of disappointment to us, we may believe that it is a means of fixing us more firmly on the Creator. There are many stages in our Christian progress in which we have much suffering to pass through in order that by degrees our *whole* trust and confidence and dependence may be placed on God. We are to "lean only on the hope of His heavenly grace"—His grace in Christ Jesus

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to pardon and accept us, as undeserving and unprofitable servants, and the grace of His Holy Spirit to cleanse us from unrighteousness, and "make us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light."

'Altogether, I like my church here quite as much as that at Lynn, and feel it best for me to learn not to depend on any individual. I have generally very comfortable Sundays. I usually feel quite taken out of the cares of life for the day. As I become more accustomed to the Church service I find it lead to much *collection of mind*; but for this and all other good things I am sensible that I am wholly dependent on the daily supplies of Divine grace, and that "unless the Lord vouchsafe to build the house, their labour is but vain that build it." And I have still many valleys and many clouds to pass through, but my Heavenly Master guides me through them, and will, I trust, keep me to the end.

'I had not intended to say anything about myself, for I am always afraid of unsettling your mind, but I hope it will not have this effect, and I can truly say my only wish for you is that you may be strengthened to *hold fast* to that which appears to you to be the right path. Various are the ways and means by which the hearts of men are brought to God, but if we are only brought to devote ourselves to His service, we ought not to be over-anxious about the means, but leave this to Him in implicit faith and confidence that the disposals of His Providence cannot but be good' (i. 212-4).

Among the members of a family so tenderly united from childhood 'a little rift slowly widening' might easily have arisen through the departure of some from the ancestral faith, held with increased tenacity and deepening conviction by the others. The circumstances, as we have seen, were not a little singular. To the Society there still adhered Elizabeth Fry and Priscilla Gurney—the first of wide renown wherever the tenets of the Friends were had in honour, the last an acknowledged minister of such unrivalled powers of fascination as to subdue even a stern philosopher's objections to a female ministry. The other five sisters had all become members of the Church of England. Of course those who remained Quakers regretted the secession of their nearest kinsfolk. Of course the seceders found the narrow scruples of their closest relatives increasingly trying. Yet the perfect harmony of the family remained unbroken, and it is worth inquiring how it was maintained. It was not by skilful avoidance of all the grounds of difference of conviction, nor by rapidly skating over thin ice, but by loving and modest yet ample explanation of the lofty and, as they firmly believed, Scriptural reasons by which first one and then another was led to embrace Church discipline and doctrine.

Mr. Hare supplies us with some beautiful examples of

these successful efforts at once to be true to themselves and to 'keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.' There is one of them we should have liked to quote entire, but it is too long for the space at our command—written by Richenda to her sister Elizabeth Fry—which affords a striking example of exquisite courtesy and winning refinement flowing spontaneously from a loving and sanctified nature. The most accomplished artist could not have penned a more seductive *deprecatio benevolentiae* than its exordium. The most finished diplomatist could not have expressed himself in terms more judiciously selected to avoid offence. The most uncompromising champion could not have upheld more resolutely the truths here explained with so much delicacy and modesty and tact. The writer begins by expressing her deep thankfulness for and her hearty sympathy with her sister's faithful labours in the great Master's vineyard.

'It was,' she goes on to say, 'to me a comfort and a pleasure and a privilege to be with thee : I felt near to thee in heart, and bound to thee far more closely than ever in Christian fellowship. I felt no desire to talk upon religious subjects, or to bring forward any of the grounds upon which we may in some measure differ, but rather to act and *feel with thee*, and as far as I was enabled to unite with thee in thy religious and spiritual exercises. Though not a Friend in the general sense of the word in respect of the Society, what a privilege and comfort it is to me that I do not feel any wall of separation between us. . . .'

'I long for thee to know my religious course outwardly as well as I know thine,' the writer continues, and she points out that from her having been brought so near to two rather opposite systems she is, perhaps, unusually sensible of the good and the defects of both. The moderation of the Friends, their general strictness of conduct, their reverence for religion and quietness and peace, are very admirable and very valuable ; 'in these and many other points I would wish to unite more closely with Friends.'

'On the other hand, I believe it has been of the greatest importance and benefit to me to have become intimately acquainted with other religious characters, especially in the Church. I have found there a knowledge and an *expansion* of the truths of religion, a power in bringing forward the important articles of our faith, and an enlarged view of the whole Christian dispensation, setting forth the doctrine of the Atonement as the grand foundation of Christian faith and practice. Though I increasingly believe the same truths are acknowledged by Friends, yet I cannot deny that there is to my mind a far greater fulness and satisfaction in the way in which they are brought forward and built upon, in the first place in the Articles

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of Belief and Liturgy of the Church, and then by many of its present ministers in their preaching. I feel the value and importance of this so very much, so increasingly, that I can hardly keep my mouth shut with respect to them. And I believe, my dear Betsy, that thee would much rather that I should freely speak my mind than keep anything back. . . .

'I have mentioned some of the benefits which the Church offers, but that of the Sacraments, I feel, is yet more important. With the view and feeling on the subject which I have now, I believe I should not have been justified in acting otherwise than I have done. I never, that I am sensible of, experienced a feeling of misgiving with respect to this subject: it has uniformly appeared to be my duty. So in faith and simple obedience I have wished to follow the dictates of my conscience, and hitherto I may acknowledge, and I hope without presumption, that my having taken this step has been blessed to me. Every time I approach the Table of my Lord, I wish to do it in humble obedience to what has appeared to my mind a command. I have not expected great things, or to have my feelings worked upon, but I have desired to partake of this heavenly feast in faith, humbly seeking (though the action alone could not sanctify) that the spirit of dependence in which I have desired it may be done might make it acceptable and bring with it a blessing. And I trust it has been so, as I feel an increasing comfort and strength from this ordinance. Though satisfied with respect to others *when it is rejected from conscientious motives*, and though I believe that God, who seeth the heart, will be well satisfied with the *spiritual* communion of the Body and Blood of Christ, I regard the outward participation of it as an *appointed means*, which, if made use of in the right frame and spirit, will bring the Divine blessing. . . . I hope, my dearest Betsy, it will not be uncomfortable to thee that I should thus enlarge on these subjects. I have done it chiefly for my own satisfaction, and it seems to me more *honest* to tell thee a little how I am going on in these respects. As I am still able in many ways to unite with thee and other Friends so very nearly, it seems more desirable that thee should know how I stand, and how it is I love thee so much, and I may say look up with so much reverence to thee, while I do not remain entirely amongst you' (i. 242-6).

In conclusion the writer expresses the hope that her sister, who has now been brought into close contact with other Christians, may be a particular blessing to the Society by inducing its members to cultivate a freer intercourse with those who differ from it. She thought the Friends might thus, perhaps, be brought to realize the privileges which Churchmen enjoy, and from which they hold themselves aloof. Especially she names the advantage of observing the Church's solemn seasons, so precious to its members, and so lightly spoken of at times by Quakers as to cause great, if unintended, pain.

We are constrained to omit much interesting matter in illustration of the lives of Joseph John and Samuel Gurney. The lavish hospitality, the cordial welcome to all fellow-workers in the cause of Christian philanthropy, the unflinching affection which continued to unite all the members of the family, whose numbers gradually became portentous, marked the daily life at Earlham, to which Joseph John succeeded at his father's death, and at Ham House, Stratford, where Samuel Gurney's married life was passed. Earlham continued to be the home of Mrs. Catherine, and was with her the centre of love and union for all the Gurneys, although as years passed Joseph John, through growing attachment to Quaker principles, narrowed the circle of friends who were invited within its walls. Whilst Catherine bewailed the loss of cultivated pursuits and genial intercourse which this increasing strictness involved, she met her brother's 'plain Quaker' guests with the utmost sweetness and affability. The anniversary meetings of the Bible Society were high days at Earlham, at which the host's brothers-in-law, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton and the Rev. Francis Cunningham, not unfrequently assisted, and Wilberforce, Simeon, and Legh Richmond were honoured guests, whilst old dependents were made equally welcome on these occasions at the dinner table in the great parlour, round which from thirty to forty persons would be gathered. In the library there were many literary treasures—books of Jewish learning, little known now and still less in those days, whose names sound weirdly to us—Zohar and Mishna, Toldoth Jesu and Abarbenel. Thither too came for some days Dr. Chalmers, who, like all other visitors, was charmed with the union of wealth and plainness of manners, of literary culture and polish of mind, he found there, and who testified that he had never seen a man 'more destitute of vanity or less alive to any wish to be brilliant' than its owner. At Ham House there was more bustle, friends perpetually coming and going, but the same easy, genial hospitality when the host, fresh from the anxieties of the enormous business whose destinies he mainly guided, presided with most unaffected simplicity. Numerous acts of unostentatious generosity are recorded of this rich man, who held and acted on the belief that he was only a steward of this world's goods, and of whom it was recorded that he had passed through wealth's burning fiery furnace without the smell of it resting on him. His great love and care for animals, his intense fondness for and kindness to children, his hearty enjoyment of their games and pleasure in ministering to them by light

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or serious reading, all betoken a nature unspoiled by great store of riches and unspotted from the world. It needs only to add respecting him that having survived all of his generation except Lady Buxton and his youngest brother, who lived to be ninety, Samuel Gurney's last days presented a charming union of childlike faith and humble meekness, until, in his seventieth year, he fell on sleep.

Before closing our notice of this remarkable family we must present our readers with the miniatures of six of them, drawn by their sister Richenda Cunningham, of whom her brother-in-law wrote, 'I look at her with amazement—always kind, never foolishly indulgent; always busy and never in a hurry; always clever and never cunning; always most sensitive in conscience, but never scrupulous' (i. 262). Let us admit before we gaze upon her portraiture that it was painted with no impartial hand; but when every allowance has been made for the deep affection which tinted her colours with a glowing hue we can confidently ask, 'Is not the group one on which it does the heart good to dwell?'

'The dear ones,' she writes, 'are all afresh brought to my mind, a tender remembrance, lovely in life and death, not now separated. What *flowers* have been cut off, all so beautiful in person as well as in mind—John, with all loveliness of figure and grace, ruddy of countenance, with a dove-like, beaming dark-blue eye, and curling auburn hair; surely so beautiful a man was hardly ever seen before; then that mighty work of grace in him, that we could indeed say in Christ Jesus all things became new in him. Then the exquisite saint Priscilla, small, delicate, brilliant in colouring, with her golden-auburn hair, little slim but beautifully formed figure, hazel eyes, and a countenance of benignity and devotion: having turned away her eyes from following vanity and the world, she offered herself a willing and complete sacrifice to the Lord, holiness unto Him being from an early age written on her forehead. My heart glows at the remembrance of her loveliness of person and spirit. Then comes the interesting, glowing Rachel; what words can pourtray her?—the depth of her affections, the richness of her mind, the ardour of her religion; and all this emanating from her attractive person. Though not tall, great loveliness of figure, fine flaxen hair curling over her face, with rather prominent, regular, and beautiful features, and fine dark-blue eyes; nothing could be more interesting, nothing more engaging. . . . And now the noble work of grace in them is perfected beyond conception in heaven, and their (what appeared to us) perfect human bodies, mouldering in the dust, will be made like unto His glorious Body in the perfection of beauty.

'How can my pen paint Louisa [Hoare], the Madonna, the mother in Israel, her queen-like dignity, with her mellowed seriousness, the law of kindness that was on her lips, the finished intellect,

with the wisdom that was from above! Oh, how lovely does she appear to me in remembrance! the peculiar blush of red in her complexion giving great brilliancy to her dark eyes and simple light hair parted in front—a noble tall figure. Yes, her beautiful portrait is deeply engraved on my heart and memory; such an one the world rarely sees, and all dedicated to her God! And her noble husband—what a pair they were—now reunited.

'And now to speak of Betsy and Joseph. All the world will acknowledge that the like of them has hardly been known upon this earth. They became polished instruments in the hands of the Lord. They adorned the Gospel which they preached. The loveliness of their characters beamed upon their countenances, and the mind that was in Christ dwelt largely in them. Their speech was always grace seasoned with salt. It was evident to all who knew them that they had been with Jesus, and the loveliness of His countenance was reflected upon them. To the Lord they all lived and in the Lord they all died' (ii. 231-2).

And as the four survivors followed one by one the blessed company was widened till the circle was complete.

As we close these volumes we ask ourselves whether we English Churchmen of the present day have not lessons of great moment to learn from the Gurneys of Earlam. Here is a family which for several generations had grown up in connexion with Quakerism, which had enjoyed none of the advantages of Catholic teaching or the deeper blessing of sacramental grace, and which yet used so faithfully the measure of religious privileges within their reach that the whole family attained a lofty standard of spiritual-mindedness, and many of them migrated into the Church of England of Simeon and William Wilberforce's days. If we ask wherein lies the secret of so marvellous a result, the answer is not far to seek, although Mr. Hare does not so much as glance at it. It was the *home* that did it. And the story teaches what priceless effects a father and mother have in their power if they will only do their duty. *They* must lay in the foundations, as they cannot be otherwise laid in, and their work cannot be done by any other than themselves. The task of implanting within the soul supplies of spiritual sustenance, according to daily need, is far too delicate and too minute an operation for any but a parent's hands. The spiritual life of a child must be built up by slow degrees, line upon line, precept upon precept, with special care to guard against immature and precocious growth, its walls, like some carefully designed building, not formed of erratic blocks, but laid in small and regular courses and cemented indissolubly with

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love. This very simple but fundamental truth is one which Churchmen will do well to lay to heart. No outside clerical instruction, however capable, no Church catechizing or preparation for confirmation, can be an adequate substitute for home religious training. It is the parents' first duty, and where they neglect it the children's religious education will be inevitably superficial and incomplete.

There is a second lesson of hardly inferior importance to be gathered from this family record, and which gives it much of its charm. As we watch the gradual development of the several members under Mrs. Catherine's skilful manipulation we have an exquisite example of the expanding blessing which follows on the conscientious use of very limited advantages. Catherine Gurney at her mother's death felt herself sadly unequal to the task imposed upon her. In things which are generally held in esteem, in natural talents, in the more showy gifts, in opportunities for acquiring what are called accomplishments, she was at a decided disadvantage compared with the rest of the family, and she knew it; but she did not flinch from her burden. In the firm conviction that unbroken union and concord was one essential necessity for the welfare of a large motherless family she took 'Seek peace and ensue it' as her motto, and followed it with singular meekness of wisdom, and, faithful in a little, she had her reward. The sweet, pure atmosphere of home proved a genial climate in which higher spiritual graces could readily flourish and abound.

ART. X.—BISHOP HEBER.

1. *Bishop Heber, Poet, and Chief Missionary to the East, second Lord Bishop of Calcutta.* By GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D. (London, 1895.)
2. *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824-1825 (with Notes upon Ceylon); an Account of a Journey to Madras and the Southern Provinces, 1826; and Letters Written in India.* Latest Edition, 2 Vols., Colonial and Home Library. (London, 1873.)
3. *Life and Unpublished Works of Bishop Heber.* Edited by his WIDOW. (London, 1830.)
4. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Bishop Heber.* By T. TAYLOR. 3rd ed. (London, 1836.)

THERE are several reasons why it seems to us very desirable that the attention of the public should be drawn to the re-

markable character and career of Bishop Heber. In the first place, so vast has been the influence of the Oxford Movement that some enthusiastic young Churchmen seem to think that there were few good clergymen before the Church revival—least of all in 'the darkest day, that preceded the dawn'—and it is well to let them see that there were some. Again, the exaggerated estimation in which Bishop Heber's abilities and attainments were once held has been followed by the inevitable reaction, and it is high time that justice should be done to his real merits. Moreover, Heber belonged to a class which is becoming daily less numerous—the class of those whom Bishop S. Wilberforce, we believe, christened 'Squarsons.'¹ When the parson was sunk in the squire, as was too often the case, their existence was a distinct evil; but when the squire was subordinate to the parson, then the 'squarson' could exercise a wider influence for good than the mere parson ever could; and Reginald Heber at Hodnet was a notable instance of this happy combination, which it is edifying to hold up as an example to others. And, finally, nothing but good can come from stimulating the public to take an interest in the mission field, and never was work in that field presented in a more attractive form than in the career of Bishop Heber.

There was ample scope for a new biography of the Bishop. The memorial volumes published by his widow soon after his death have indeed a pathetic interest which no other work of the kind can have; but it may be doubted whether the disadvantages do not more than counterbalance the advantages which attend the work of so near and dear a relative; at any rate, such a work requires supplementing from the outside. The *Life* by Mr. T. Taylor seems to us to be written with an object, that object being to claim Bishop Heber for the Evangelical school—a claim not very easy to make good. Bishop Heber's own works give material from which the reader might construct a *Life* for himself, but the ordinary reader is not likely to be at the trouble of doing that. We therefore heartily welcome the new biography just put forth by Dr. George Smith, who is in many respects well qualified for the task which he has undertaken. He knows

¹ 'I am,' he writes to his friend John Thornton, from Hodnet, 'in a sort of half-way station—between a parson and a squire—condemned, in spite of myself, to attend to the duties of the latter, while yet I neither do nor can attend to them sufficiently; nor am I quite sure that even my literary habits are well suited to the situation of a country clergyman.' But few people will agree with this characteristically modest self-depreciation.

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India well, and is especially familiar with the work of Christian missions in India. His *Life of Bishop Heber* seems a necessary corollary to his former works, notably to *Henry Martyn, Saint and Scholar*, Bishop Heber's model hero.

But we are bound to add that in other respects Dr. Smith is not quite the man for the work. As soon as he gets his hero over the ocean he is on familiar ground, but forty out of forty-three years of Heber's life were spent in England, and to do justice to those forty years his biographer should be thoroughly familiar (1) with the University of Oxford, with which Heber's early fame is most closely identified; (2) with English clerical life, for Heber was essentially the country parson; and (3) with the art of literary criticism, for Heber was a most versatile writer, and to estimate his writings aright requires rare literary discrimination. In all these qualifications Dr. Smith is lacking, and as the lack of them appears in the earlier part of his book, there is a fear lest the reader should be prejudiced at the outset, and prevented from doing justice to what is by far the most important part—that is, Heber's life in India. It is in no unkind spirit, but with the single object of clearing away obstacles to the success of a work which deserves success, that we begin with the ungrateful task of criticism.

First, then, with regard to Oxford. No Oxford man would have used such expressions as the following, all of which occur in one page (p. 16), and refer to Brasenose College: 'The Bishop of Chester, Dr. W. Cleaver, was Principal of the College, and the senior Proctor and several of the Fellows were known to him [Heber]'—as if the senior Proctor were a College officer; 'After temporary accommodation in what he [Heber] called a "garret"'—as if 'garret' was Heber's own nomenclature, and not the general name for all college rooms in the top story or roof; 'On the one side he commanded the dome of the Bodleian'—the writer meaning of course 'the Radcliffe,' but falling into a very natural mistake for a stranger to make, from the fact that the Bodleian has borrowed the Radcliffe for its own books. Again, on p. 92, 'Mant and Keble, both Oxford men, of Oriel, were his contemporaries'; waiving the rather clumsy, un-Oxford expression, 'Oxford men, of Oriel,' we may remark that generations at Oxford are very short, and, seeing that Mant graduated in 1797, Heber in 1804, and Keble in 1810, no Oxford man would have spoken of them as contemporaries; young Keble would have regarded Mant as a man of a long bygone generation. And, finally, 'The Treasurers of All Souls and Brasenose Colleges'

(p. 343) are college officers with whom Oxford men are not familiar.

As an instance of Dr. Smith's want of familiarity with the English Church, the following passage may be quoted: 'Next year (1807) Reginald Heber was ordained, and was instituted by his brother to the rectory of Hodnet' (p. 50), his brother being Richard Heber, the lay-patron of the living, who could present him to the bishop for institution, but could not institute him. Perhaps it is the same want of familiarity with the English Church which leads Dr. Smith to describe Fletcher of Madeley as Heber's 'saintly neighbour' (p. 76). Fletcher died in 1785, when Heber was only two years old, so it is at least odd to call him Heber's neighbour.

Turning now to Dr. Smith's literary criticism, we find him endorsing the wildly extravagant eulogies uttered in after years by men who, as undergraduates, were carried away with enthusiasm when they heard Heber recite his *Palestine* in the Sheldonian. 'The judgment of the world has placed *Palestine* at the very head of the poetry on divine subjects of this age. It is now incorporated for ever with the poetry of England.'¹ 'Of which single work [*Palestine*] the fancy, the elegance, and the grace have secured him a place in the list of those who bear the proud title of English poets.'² 'A flight, as upon angel's wing, over the Holy Land' (p. 91). Stronger language could hardly have been used about *Paradise Lost*. But should a critic in cold blood endorse such language? *Palestine* is certainly the most famous of all Prize Poems; perhaps, also, the best, though Dean Stanley gives the palm to Heber's friend, Milman, who won the same prize a few years later. But is it really a great poem? Pegasus in harness can rarely soar to high flights. Tennyson would hardly have liked to be judged by his *Timbuctoo*, and, admitting that *Palestine* is superior to *Timbuctoo*, it surely is not enough to entitle its writer to a place among the immortals.

Still less can we accept Dr. Smith's criticism on Heber as the editor and biographer of Jeremy Taylor. 'It was,' he writes, 'a happy arrangement when Messrs. Ogle, Duncan and Co. in 1819 applied to the rector of Hodnet to edit the complete and collected works of Jeremy Taylor,' and so forth (p. 92). It was, in our opinion, a very unhappy arrangement. The edition was so inaccurate and incomplete that

¹ John Wilson in *Noctes Ambrosianae*, quoted, p. 22.

² Sir C. E. Grey, quoted, p. 340.

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it had to be revised and corrected, and practically made a new edition by one who was much more fitted for the task, the Rev. C. P. Eden. Strangely infelicitous, too, does the analogy seem to us which Dr. Smith draws between Bishop Heber and Bishop Taylor. They were both good Christians, they were both Fellows of All Souls, and they both wrote on sacred subjects in prose and also in verse; but there the resemblance ends. Their success in each department was singularly unlike; Taylor's prose was immeasurably superior to Heber's, and resembled it neither in style nor in tone nor in matter. On the other hand, Heber's verse certainly shows that he had a breath of that divine afflatus which is conspicuous by its absence from the laboured effusions of Jeremy Taylor. By such comparisons Dr. Smith may defeat his own end, which is presumably to recommend Bishop Heber to his readers; for if any inquiring reader should take it into his head to verify Dr. Smith's remarks, and should compare, say, Bishop Taylor's '*Via Intelligentiæ*'—the sermon to which Dr. Smith alludes—with one of Bishop Heber's Bampton's, or, indeed, any of his numerous sermons, the painful inferiority of the later writer must strike him at once; and having learned to distrust Dr. Smith's judgment in one point, he may distrust it in all. The whole tenor of Dr. Smith's criticism leads us to the conclusion that Heber was a really great theologian; and that, we think, is a conclusion which no competent critic will admit. Does anyone ever dream of citing Heber as a theological authority? Has any one of his theological works approached anywhere near the mark of being a classic? It is quite unnecessary to credit Heber with qualifications which he had not, for the qualifications which he had are more than enough to make him a distinguished ornament of the English Church. Let us glance briefly at his history.

Reginald Heber was born in 1783 at Malpas, of which his father was co-rector. He was never at a public school, but received his education up to the age of fifteen partly at the grammar-school of Whitworth, partly from his father, who had been a Fellow of Brasenose, and his half-brother, Richard, who was distinguished as a great book-collector, and was afterwards M.P. for the University of Oxford. He was then sent to a private tutor's, where he contracted a lifelong friendship with John Thornton, who helped largely in forming his religious character. As Thornton was grandson and nephew respectively of two of the leading members of the Clapham sect, it is easy to see in what direction his influence would

tend. In 1800 Heber entered at Brasenose College, Oxford, and was soon regarded as the most brilliant man of his day in the university.

'It is just four-and-twenty years,' wrote a contemporary (Sir C. E. Grey) immediately after Heber's death, 'since I first became acquainted with him at the University, of which he was, beyond all question or comparison, the most distinguished student of his time. The name of Reginald Heber was in every mouth; his society was courted by young and old; he lived in an atmosphere of favour, admiration, and regard from which I have never known anyone but himself who would not have derived, and for life, an unsalutary influence.'¹

The fact that Heber's name does not appear in the Class List is no derogation to this reputation, for the Honour Schools had only just been established, and had not yet begun to attract many aspirants. There were only three men in the List for the year in which Heber graduated. But he won no less than three university prizes: the Latin Verse in 1801, when the new century was welcomed by the appropriate subject *Carmen Saculare*; the English Verse in 1803, with his famous *Palestine*; and the English Prose in 1805, the subject being *The Sense of Honour*. The reception of *Palestine*, when he recited it in the Theatre, was quite unique; and, after making all allowance for the popularity of the writer, his attractive appearance, and his sonorous voice, it must still be admitted that a poem which could raise such enthusiasm must have in it matter to touch the human heart—the true aim of poetry. In 1805 he was elected Fellow of All Souls, and then made the grand tour with his friend Thornton; and, as soon as possible after his ordination, was presented by his brother Richard (his father being now dead) to the family living of Hodnet. Here, too, there was much to spoil this favoured child of fortune, if the sweetness and piety of his nature had been capable of being spoilt. He settled down among a people with whom the very name of Heber acted as a talisman. He was eminently qualified to shine in society, and the best society of the neighbourhood was at his feet. Immediately after his institution he made a most happy marriage with Amelia, eldest daughter of the then Dean, and granddaughter of a late Bishop, of St. Asaph. He became a successful *littérateur*, being one of the earliest and most welcome contributors to the *Quarterly Review*, which began its prosperous career in 1809. He revived his connexion with his beloved Oxford in 1815, when he was

¹ Smith, p. 340.

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Bampton Lecturer. In 1817 he was appointed to a prebend at St. Asaph, and in 1822 to the preachiership of Lincoln's Inn.

But all these attractions and distractions did not prevent him from being a most faithful and active parish priest at Hodnet, finding, like all good parish priests, difficulties and discouragements as well as encouragements, even in that favoured spot. Indeed, it was in direct connexion with his parish work that he entered upon that field of literature in which he was, in our opinion, more successful than in any other. What, as it seems to us, will render Heber immortal as a writer is, not his *Palestine* nor his essays nor his sermons, but his hymns; and what first led him to write hymns was the requirements of his simple village service at Hodnet. He began to publish a few of these in the *Christian Observer* as early as 1811, but he afterwards conceived a more ambitious project. We need not enter into the curious story of his attempts to procure from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London authority for the use of a hymn-book, which he purposed to compile, in churches generally. He was not disappointed at the failure of his attempt. His heart was at Hodnet, and it was quite sufficient for him if he could compile hymns which might be sung in his own church without offending his cultured and delicate taste. For this object he strove to enlist the services of some of the most noted poets of the day, Robert Southey, Walter Scott (not yet *Sir* Walter), and Henry Hart Milman. With the latter he was successful; and so it is to Heber that we owe Milman's thirteen hymns, some of which are among the most beautiful in our language. Of Heber's own hymns little need be said; they are immortal. 'From Greenland's icy mountains,' 'Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty,' 'The Son of God goes forth to war,' and many more, will be read and sung and loved when *Palestine* is forgotten. The first mentioned hymn, indeed, was composed, not for Hodnet, but for Wrexham, on a single Saturday afternoon, at the request of his father-in-law, Dean Shipley, who was about to preach a missionary sermon on Whitsunday morning, 1819. The hymns were used at Hodnet, but were not published until 1827, the year after the accomplished writer's death.

One of the most interesting features about Heber's collection of hymns is that they were the first attempt to mark the seasons of the Christian year by sacred song, just as his sermons, published in 1822, were one of the first attempts to do so by preaching.

'They are,' he himself tells us in his original preface, 'part of an intended series, appropriate to the Sundays and principal holy days of the year, connected in some degree with their particular Collects and Gospels, and designed to be sung between the Nicene Creed and the sermon [the wrong place, by the way]. The effect of an arrangement of this kind, though only partially adopted, is very striking in the Romish liturgy; and its place should seem to be imperfectly supplied by a few verses of the Psalms, entirely unconnected with the peculiar devotions of the day, and selected at the discretion of a clerk or organist.'¹

And to the Bishop of London (Dr. Howley) he wrote in 1820:

'I have for several years back been from time to time . . . engaged in forming a collection of hymns for the different Sundays in the year, as well as for the principal festivals and Saints' Days, connected, for the most part, with the history or doctrine contained in the Gospel for each day.'

The plan is so obvious and has been so universally adopted in principle, if not in detail, that it is difficult to realize how entirely new a departure it was in Heber's day, when, as Mr. Pearson quaintly remarks,

'The common notion respecting hymns was that all the Latin were Popish, and therefore to be abhorred of all good Christians, and that all the English were Methodistical, or written chiefly by Dissenters.'²

The last clause is certainly so far true that no collection of hymns—neither Wesley's nor the Olney hymns (which partly gave the idea to Heber), nor any other—was at all adapted to stamp by this most attractive means the Church's system upon Church people. And this leads us to remark that Heber was a much stronger Churchman than is commonly supposed. This is not at all inconsistent with the fact that he was strongly influenced in many respects by the Evangelicals. For in the first place we are inclined to think that, next to that interesting little coterie called the 'Clapton sect,' of which Heber's predecessor at Calcutta, Bishop Middleton, was a distinguished ornament, the Evangelicals in the first quarter of the nineteenth century were the best Churchmen of their day. And in the second place, Heber never was a thorough Evangelical. It is only by a dexterous manipulation here and a discreet omission there; by minimizing his strong repugnance to Calvinism; by passing lightly over his belief in Baptismal Regeneration, in the Apostolical Succes-

¹ Smith, p. 80.

² 'Hymns and Hymn Writers,' in *Oxford Essays*, 1858.

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sion and consequently in the invalidity of non-episcopal orders, his lax views about 'Sabbath observance,' his sanction of amusements which were utterly condemned in Evangelical circles, that he can be made to pass muster at all decently. It is to the credit of Dr. Smith that he does not slur over these points in his hero, though his sympathies would, of course, lead him to do so.

On June 1, 1823, Reginald Heber was consecrated Bishop of Calcutta in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, the consecration, as in the case of Bishop Middleton, nine years before, being huddled over in semi-privacy. 'Few persons,' he writes, were admitted to see it'—as if it were a thing to be ashamed of. When his old friend, C. W. Williams Wynn, who, as President of the Board of Commissioners for the affairs of India, had to submit names to the Crown, wrote to him tentatively on the subject, he showed by his reply that he might be persuaded to go, but when the actual offer came he at first declined, owing to the strong remonstrances of his friends. But he had long taken a deep interest in mission work. He had frequently preached on its behalf; he had written the most popular of missionary hymns; he had drawn up a thoughtful scheme for the amalgamation of the two great societies for Church missions; and when there seemed a difficulty in finding a suitable person for the vacant bishopric, he felt it his duty to accept the post. Dr. Smith devotes considerably more than half his volume to the three out of the forty-three years of Bishop Heber's life which were spent in India. Counting by numbers, this may seem an absurdly disproportionate space, but counting by importance we believe that the laws of proportion are duly observed. At any rate, the biographer is wise in his generation in giving so large a space to that part of the life in which he is most in his element. There are, however, two passages in this portion of the biography to which we must take the gravest exception. The first relates to Bishop Heber's immediate predecessor; the other to his latest successor. On pages 154-55 we read: 'The selection of Dr. Middleton was unfortunate. . . . The nine years of Bishop Middleton's episcopate were passed in an unhappy struggle. . . . More than half of his troubles had been created or magnified by his own temper,' and so forth. Now, we are aware that Sir J. W. Kaye, in his *Christianity in India*, reflects upon Bishop Middleton's 'cold formalism,' and 'his overweening sense of the dignity of the episcopal office,' adding, however, extenuations, which Dr. Smith does not; but we thought it had been generally ad-

mitted that Dr. Middleton had prepared the way for Dr. Heber by breaking the back of the opposition, and that the nine years of his incumbency of the see of Calcutta was a period of a most marked advance of Christianity in India; and Bishop's College remains to this day a standing monument of his activity and success. Bishop Middleton was an uncompromising Churchman, but that was the very thing which, in the eyes of the Evangelicals themselves, rendered his appointment desirable. Is not Dr. Smith aware that the great objection to Christian missions in India generally, and to the establishment of a bishopric at Calcutta in particular, was, that the agitation was supposed to arise from what was termed a 'narrow, ignorant party'; and that if a bishop had been appointed who was identified with that party, the success of the scheme would have been seriously endangered? The Evangelicals of the time saw this plainly enough, if Dr. Smith does not. W. Wilberforce, one of the chief promoters of the scheme, was quite satisfied; that excellent Evangelical, Dr. Corrie, who afterwards became Archdeacon of Calcutta, and then Bishop of Madras, looked at the matter in a most sensible way.

'He thought,' writes his biographer, 'that the bishop gave mission work exactly that kind of sanction it required. To labour for the moral improvement and conversion of our heathen fellow-subjects used to be regarded as characterizing a party in the Church, and as proceeding from a kind of fanaticism that would endanger the stability of our Oriental Empire. But the interest which Bishop Middleton had taken in the missionary cause gave reason to believe that high official dignity, combined with a high reputation for sound judgment and secular learning, was not incompatible with the conviction that our rule in India had everything to hope for from the spread of Christianity.'¹

The attack of Dr. Smith is all the more to be regretted because it is not in the least necessary. It is not borne out, nor required, so far as we are aware, by anything that Bishop Heber ever did or said. It is dragged in, to use a homely phrase, by the head and shoulders, and we sincerely trust that in a future edition it will be dragged out by the same process.

The other point is an entirely gratuitous—and, we must add, offensive—reflection upon the present Bishop. In a note to page 346 we read: 'Bishop Johnston, of Calcutta, and the Metropolitan of India, has signified his intention of resigning his see. . . . Should he live to carry out his intention he

¹ *Memoirs of Daniel Corrie, first Bishop of Madras*, by his Brother, p. 344.

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will be the first bishop of that historic see who has retired from the post of duty.' It is not quite clear whether this is a quotation from *The Churchman*, or Dr. Smith's own remark. But anyway, it is quite out of place, and conveys a most false impression. Of Bishop Johnston's seven predecessors, not one, with the exception of Bishop D. Wilson, held the post for half the term that the present bishop has held it (twenty years). Bishop Heber, on Dr. Smith's own showing (see pp. 120, 126, &c.), said that he accepted the post on the understanding that he might retire with a large pension after fifteen years' service that is, five years less than Bishop Johnston has already seen. That he fully meant so to retire is proved by the fact that he comforted himself (again on Dr. Smith's own showing) for the loss of his English friends by the thought that most of them were younger than himself, and that he would therefore, if his life was spared, meet them again when the fifteen years were over. The note is inserted *à propos* of nothing at all; we trust that it may be removed from the next edition by a simple stroke of the pen.

There are other points on which we disagree with Dr. Smith—notably with his incessant use of the word 'catholic' in a sense in which no single person among the myriads of Christians in East and West, for more than fifteen hundred years, would have dreamt of using it, or would have in the least understood what Dr. Smith meant by it; in a sense, too, in which it is never used in the formularies of Bishop Heber's own Church—but these we gladly waive, and thank Dr. Smith for the very interesting account which he has given us of Bishop Heber's Indian life. He has very wisely allowed his hero to tell his own tale as much as possible, for among his varied accomplishments Heber was an admirable descriptive writer. His account of his first impression of Calcutta (pp. 162-69) is most vivid; and the pathos, the humour, the tenderness of the description of his interview with the poor old 'Great Mogul' at Delhi are beyond all praise; the Bishop was, moreover, an accomplished draughtsman, and not the least attractive features of Dr. Smith's volume, so far as it relates to India, are the numerous illustrations, 'reproduced chiefly from the original wood engravings, cut from Heber's own sketches' (Preface). Dr. Smith has also been able to publish for the first time many of Heber's letters to Miss Charlotte Dod, a young lady with whom he kept up, with the full concurrence of her parents and his own wife, a sort of spiritual friendship, as also he did with the better known Maria Leicester.

If a martyr means one who sacrifices his life for his religion, the title is scarcely too strong to be applied to Bishop Heber. There are slow deaths as well as rapid deaths; and if any man killed himself by inches by overwork in his Master's cause, that man was Reginald Heber. The strongest constitution in the world could not have borne the incessant strain of work, physical and mental, in a tropical climate, to which he had not become acclimatized, which was crowded into those three short years in India. It began even before he landed, for 'at once he was deluged with the arrears of ecclesiastical business as they sailed slowly up the Hoogli' (p. 167). The first five months were spent in Calcutta, where he had more than enough upon his hands in putting things into order which, in spite of the able administration of Dr. Corrie, had necessarily got out of gear during the interregnum of more than a year. The amount of work which fell upon him when he was not on the move and was comparatively at rest is thus vividly described by himself in a letter to his former curate at Hodnet, J. J. Blunt, afterwards the well-known writer and Cambridge professor:

'As nothing which concerns the duties of the clergy can be settled without a reference to Government, I have, in fact, at least two sets of letters to write and receive in every important matter which comes before me. As visitor of Bishop's College, I receive almost every week six or seven sheets of close writing on the subject. I am called on to give an opinion on the architecture, expense, and details of every church which is built, or proposed to be built, in India; every application for salary of either clerk, sexton, schoolmaster, or bell-ringer must pass through my hands, and be recommended in a letter to Government. I am literally the conductor of all the missions in the three Presidencies, and, what is most serious of all, I am obliged to act in almost everything from my own single judgment, and on my own single responsibility, without any more experienced person to consult, or any precedent to guide me. I have, besides, not only the Indian clergy and the Indian Government to correspond with, but the religious societies at home, whose agent I am, and to whom I must send occasional letters, the composition of each of which occupies me many days; while in the scarcity of clergy which is and must be felt here, I feel myself bound to preach, in some one or other of the churches or stations, no less frequently than when I was in England. All this, when one is stationary at Calcutta, may be done, indeed, without difficulty; but my journeys throw me sadly into arrears,' &c. (pp. 256-57).

He commenced the first of these journeys on June 15, 1824, making a visitation tour of the Upper Provinces to Dacca and the Himalayas, to Almora and Bombay, travelling

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some three thousand miles, the fatigue of which it is difficult for us, who live in the days of railroads and in a temperate climate, to realize; and of course at each stoppage, instead of resting, as most travellers do, he plunged at once into a multiplicity of work, often of a most exhausting and irritating nature. At Bombay, after a separation of ten months, he was joined by his wife and elder daughter; and they went together to Ceylon, where there was particularly heavy work to be done, owing to the progress which the Church was making in the island. He had already had a timely warning against overtaxing his strength, in the shape of a fever in the earlier part of his tour, succeeded by dysentery at Bombay; and in Ceylon he 'expressed his confident expectation that the diocese (the labour of which he felt was fast exhausting his strength) would soon be divided into smaller bishoprics' (p. 286). But, alas! three valuable lives were yet to be sacrificed before that expectation was fulfilled.

He returned to Calcutta for a short space; and, among other things, reordained, on St. Andrew's Day, 1825, four ministers, who had already received Lutheran ordination; and that, in spite of the dissuasion of the Rev. D. Schmidt, to whom he wrote: 'You suppose that I generally admit ordination by presbyters without a bishop to be valid; I do not admit it' (p. 295). A fortnight later (January 8, 1826) he had another warning, being seized with a fever of a very serious type, which really was the beginning of the end, though he little suspected it.

However, he so far recovered, that in three weeks' time he set forth on his second and last visitation tour, making his way southward to the Presidency of Madras. There was no part of British India in which Christianity had made so much way as in the Southern Provinces; and the bishop was most hopeful and cheerful. But this same fact gave him more work to do than he had in his first tour; and under the stress of it he broke down. At the city of Madras, he describes himself in his *Journal* for March 1826, as 'almost worn out.' And no wonder, when we learn from his own words what he had been doing:

'Indeed, I do not eat the bread of idleness in this country. Since my arrival at Madras, little more than three weeks ago, I have preached eleven times (including my visitation Charge), have held four public and one private confirmation, visited five schools, attended one public meeting, travelled sixty miles in a palanquin, and one hundred and forty on horseback, besides a pretty voluminous correspondence with Government, different missionaries and chaplains,

and my Syrian brother, Mar Athanasius ; and the thermometer this day stands 98° in the shade.¹

He spent his last Easter-Day on earth at Tanjor, where he was delighted with the service, particularly in the evening, when there was a congregation of more than 1,300 native Christians. When he took his robes off he said to his chaplain,² 'Gladly would I exchange years of common life for such a day as this.' He left Tanjor 'with the sincerest regret, and with the strongest interest in a spot so favoured and so full of promise.' He is convinced that 'the strength of the Christian cause in India is in these missions'; he 'has seen nothing like the missions of the South, for these are the fields most ripe for the harvest' (pp. 324-25). One lingers fondly on such expressions ; for there is a melancholy satisfaction in knowing that the Bishop's last impressions were full of joy and thankfulness and hope. For the end was very near at hand. From Tanjor he drove to Trichinopoly, set to work at once to prepare his sermon for the morrow (it was Saturday), and his confirmation addresses, and to write his last letters. His last written words, addressed to his wife, were on a subject in which he had long taken an indignant interest—the bad treatment of native Christians by his own Government :

'Will it be believed, that while the Raja kept his dominions, Christians were eligible to all the different offices of State, *while now there is an order of Government against their being admitted to any employment!* Surely we are in matters of religion the most lukewarm and cowardly people on the face of the earth? I mean to make this and some other things which I have seen, a matter of formal representation to all the three Governments of India and to the Board of Control' (pp. 331-32).

That representation was never made. He preached the next day to a crowded congregation at St. John's Church, in the fort of Trichinopoly, and addressed the confirmation candidates 'with more than his wonted earnest and affectionate manner' (p. 333). Early the next morning he drove to the Tamil church, conducted a confirmation service in the Tamil tongue, visited both the English and the Tamil schools, and the Mission House and his sick chaplain, and then, previous to a late breakfast, entered the cold bath. From that bath he never came out alive. 'The first shock of the cold water, acting on a nervous system weakened by overwork and re-

¹ Letter to C. W. W. Wynn, quoted p. 317.

² Mr. Robinson, to whom we are indebted for the touching account of *The Last Days of Bishop Heber*, published in 1831.

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cent fever, caused a blood-vessel to burst in the brain' (p. 337), and he was found by his servant dead in his bath.

Dr. Smith quotes several estimates by competent persons of Bishop Heber's merits as Bishop of Calcutta, but none of them is more pointed and true than his own :

'Heber combined, as no other foreigner has done, the personal fascination, the influence of high office and broad culture, the zeal of an evangelical in the best sense true to the commission of his Master, and the high faculty of organization directed by business and common sense' (p. 347).

Heber's tragic death caused a great sensation in England ; and the beauty of his life and character impressed many who were not specially interested in Church matters. Among others, the keenest satirist and most cultured and delicate humorist of the century, took Heber as one of his instances of a true gentleman in contrast to 'the First Gentleman in Europe.'¹ We are rather surprised that Dr. Smith has omitted this testimony, and we cannot do better than close our review with a quotation from it :

'May we not also speak of a good divine, and mention Reginald Heber as one of the best of English gentlemen ? the charming poet, the happy possessor of all sorts of gifts and accomplishments, birth, wit, fame, high character, competence ;'

and then he goes on to touch upon his work at Hodnet and in India, and upon his domestic life, quoting 'those charming lines,'

'If thou wert by my side, my love.'

Bishop Heber is worthy of all the praise that has been lavished upon him.

¹ Thackeray's *Four Georges*—'George the Fourth.'

ART. XI.—THE DENOMINATIONAL TENDENCY OF STATE-AIDED ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

1. *Reports, Minutes, and Original Documents of the Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in Ireland, generally known as the Kildare Place Society, 1811-1832.*
2. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), 1825.*
3. *Reports of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, 1832-1894.*
4. *Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into Primary Education (Ireland), generally known as 'the Powis Commission' (1870).*
5. *The Present Crisis considered in Connexion with the New Rules proposed by the Commissioners of National Education.* By H. H. DICKENSON, D.D., Dean of the Chapel Royal. (Dublin, 1896.)
6. *A False Alarm! a Brief Examination of Dean Dickenson's Pamphlet on the Present Crisis, together with a Criticism of the New Rules proposed by the National Board.* By J. W. TRISTRAM, D.D. (Dublin, 1896.)

MR. BALFOUR has been described as having 'an extraordinary power of making conspicuous what Bacon would have called the "negative instance."' In his speech at Bristol, on Monday, February 3, 1896, he emphasized the negative instances of Ireland and Scotland, in a manner not likely to be soon forgotten by those who have been in the habit of parading the sacred principle of undenominationalism, as though it were inherently bound up with the eternal fitness of things. His remarks have been pointedly summarized by the *Guardian* (February 5), as follows:—

'Mr. Balfour was very happy on Monday, in his remarks on the tendency of the Opposition to confound accidental arrangements in elementary education with eternal principles. Why should the English system be eternal and immutable rather than the Irish and Scottish systems? All these are the creation of the Imperial Parliament, and the Irish and the Scottish systems are contentedly accepted by Irish Home Rulers and Scotch Radicals. Yet, if it is proposed to apply the same principles to England, the very men who accept them without murmur in Ireland and Scotland profess themselves willing to die in the last ditch in defence of the compromise of 1870. Liberty, as in Ireland or Scotland, is all the supporters of Church schools ask for in England. "In Ireland denominationalism

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is taught, subject to a conscience clause, every day, and every day practically the whole cost falls upon the Imperial Exchequer." In Scotland "denominational teaching of the strictest kind is given in Board schools, and wherever there are thirty children of a different denomination from the majority they have a right to erect a school which shall be supported out of the public funds." If the maintenance of the Cowper-Temple Clause is a matter of principle with Mr. Asquith and Mr. Morley, why do they not insist upon extending it to Scotland and Ireland? If it would be rejected without hesitation in those countries, why should it be treated as a crime to propose its abolition in England?

The prominence thus given to the Irish system by Mr. Balfour makes it probable that the principles and the history of the system will now have some prospect of attracting attention in England; the more so because some of the proposals of the Bill framed last year under the auspices of the National Society were borrowed direct from the constitution of the Irish National Board. Hitherto it has been almost in vain for individual correspondents to call attention in the *Times*, the *Guardian*, or elsewhere, either to the special advantages enjoyed by Ireland, or to the powerful arguments which Irish precedent furnishes for fighting the cause of definite religious teaching in England. The editorials of organs usually well informed have shown either indifference or ignorance with respect to the valuable accumulation of historical facts, reaching over the greater part of the century, which in the history of Irish elementary education lies ready to their hand. As for the ordinary reading public, even when most interested in propositions with regard to educational legislation in England, they have been as inattentive to the similar problems which have been worked out in Ireland, as if the sister country, in accordance with a not unheard of British aspiration, were 'sunk in the depths of the sea.' Now, however, that the genius of Mr. Balfour has thrown open the doors of the treasury, and passed its contents into current coin, men will be likely to investigate more closely the precious metal they are handling, and to tolerate an inquiry into how it came to assume its present shape.

It is therefore proposed in the following pages to submit—

I. A sketch of elementary education in Ireland, so far as it has been helped and controlled by the State.

II. A glance at the recent attempts to modify the system, with a view to the admission of the schools of the Christian Brothers.

III. Some account of the general rules and regulations of the Commission of National Education.

I. *A Sketch of State-aided Elementary Education in Ireland.*

Just as in England the State made use of the energies of private societies for the commencement of its educational work, so it was in Ireland—with the difference that the work began in Ireland some quarter of a century earlier.

The Kildare Place Society, or, to give it its full and original title, 'the Society for Promoting Elementary Education among the Irish Poor,' was founded towards the end of the year 1811. As the principles of the Society are important for our purpose, it will be well to give the resolutions which were adopted at its first meeting, and which became the basis of its subsequent constitution.

They are as follows :—

'1. Resolved, that promoting the education of the poor of Ireland is a grand object which every Irishman anxious for the welfare and prosperity of his country ought to have in view as the basis upon which the morals and true happiness of the country can be best secured.

'2. Resolved, that for the accomplishment of this great work, schools should be opened upon the most liberal principle, and divested of all sectarian distinctions in Christianity.

'3. Resolved, that to forward this measure we deem it expedient that a Society be formed whose paramount object shall be to promote the education of *all* the poor of Ireland, and that it be denominated "the Society for Promoting Elementary Education among the Irish Poor."

'4. Resolved, that a Committee be appointed annually, who shall be entrusted with the management of the Institution . . . and that such Committee shall be particularly requested to correspond with and receive communications from all parts of Ireland upon the subject of education, and to give information and assistance to Local Associations for the fitting up of School Houses upon a suitable plan, and in providing for teachers properly qualified, as also for the procuring of books and other necessary articles.

'5. Resolved, that economy being a primary consideration in such an undertaking the attention of the Committee is particularly directed to the arrangements made in the several schools now conducted in this country upon the Lancasterian Plan, which plan is, in our opinion, well calculated for the attainment of the object itself, as well as to meet the circumstances of the poor of Ireland.'

From these resolutions it will be plain that the Kildare Place Society, as they were afterwards generally called, were as anxious for undenominationalism at the beginning of the century as the English Nonconformists are at the end. They might not have been able to define what 'undenominationalism' meant—the word was not yet invented—but they

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had clear ideas as to the thing. A curious piece of evidence as to the spirit in which they approached the subject is to be found in the original draft of the fundamental resolutions. The document is for the most part written in a fine bold hand; but at one side, in the somewhat uncertain writing of Samuel Bewley, one of the most energetic of the founders, appears the annotation, 'Divested of all Religious Distinction in any part of the Arrangement.' Plainly it seemed to him that here, if anywhere, lay the secret of any success to which their efforts might attain. The list of those present at the first meeting is also instructive. For the most part the names are those of prominent Dublin citizens; but there is at least one name of wider celebrity: Joseph Lancaster, to whose exertions the 'British and Foreign Society' traces its origin, was there; and the approval of his system which the resolutions contain, together with the interest shown afterwards in the publication and dissemination of his books, makes it clear that his views were largely influential in shaping the policy of the new society.

The sentiment of Mr. Bewley, quoted above, may be taken as the principle upon which all the organization of the Society went forward. The committee was made as representative as possible of the different religions. Bewley was a Quaker; he was joined by Churchmen, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics. So completely were religious distinctions ignored in the great¹ model school founded at Kildare Place for the training of the teachers that, when asked by the Royal Commission how many Roman Catholics attended, the committee, having kept no religious roll, were wholly unable to reply. It was the same through every part of the system. Clerks of all religions conducted the business of the office. The inspectors of the Society were equally representative. Even in the country schools, to which the Kildare Place grants were given, it was contrary to rule to give any consideration to the

¹ That the term 'great' is not an exaggeration when applied to these schools the following letter will prove:—

'Le comte Lastegn  et son fils ont visit  avec beaucoup de d tail cet  tablissement. Ils n'ont  t  moins  tonn s de l'ordre admirable qui r gne dans toutes ses parties que des excellents principes sur lesquels il est fond . La ville de Dublin peut se flatter de poss der le plus bel  tablissement de ce genre qui existe dans le monde entier, et qui doit  tre imit  dans toutes les capitales de l'Europe si ses gouvernemens consid roient bien leurs int r ts et s'ils savoient remplir leurs devoirs envers le peuple.

'LE C^{TE} LASTEGN ,

'Vice-pr sident de la Soci t  d'Enseignement Mutuel de Paris.

10 Septembre 1820 [?]

VOL. XLII.—NO. LXXXIII.

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question of religion in making appointments to the office of teacher.

Nor is the analogy with end-of-the-century condition exhausted by the mere machinery of the Society. The views which led to the adoption of the machinery were strangely similar to those put forward to-day. There is no evidence that any of the leading members of the committee objected to definite religious teaching. Their reports disclaim the notion. In after years many of them threw themselves enthusiastically into the cause of the Church Education Society, whose denominationalism was of the most uncompromising type. What they believed was that in no other way could the problem offered by religious differences be solved. The Bible, as the charter of Christianity in its broadest sense, they considered indispensable in the school; but anything of the nature of a doctrinal note or comment they rigidly excluded, nor were catechisms of any kind allowed.¹

After this statement of the principles of the Kildare Place Society our next duty will be to inquire into the reception which awaited its proclamation of undenominationalism as the secret of success in the education of the people.

At first all went well. A keen desire for education was astir everywhere, and men welcomed any help towards this object, without examining over closely the conditions upon which it was given. It is no part of our present purpose to give an account of the many-sided energy which the Society showed, but it is easy to understand that when grants were given for building schools, payments made towards teachers' salaries, school books published and supplied at cheap rates, teachers trained in the first-class school of the Society in Dublin, and all done with an efficiency which elicited universal admiration and a scrupulous exactness which disarmed criticism—it is easy to understand that for a time such an organization was certain to flourish. Consequently we are not surprised to find that for the first few years of its history the only serious difficulty which the Society experienced was want of funds, and that the early Reports speak with enthusiasm of the prospects of the work. 'We are now fully satisfied,' the committee report in 1814, 'of the practicability of carrying such a system into effect.'

No better proof can be given of the excellence with which this pioneer work of education was conducted than the fact that it attracted the attention of the Government of the day with such good effect as to obtain a grant from the imperial funds.

¹ Cf. especially *The Fifth Report*, 1816-17, p. 29.

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The grant, which is of more than passing interest, as being the first ever made by the British Parliament for the elementary education of the people, was made in 1815, and amounted to nearly 7,000*l.*

From the moment Government aid became available financial difficulties may be said to have disappeared. There was, of course, always plenty of work which had to be left undone by a society which aimed at nothing less than the education of all the poor in Ireland; but the grants rose steadily with the growing demands, until they amounted to upwards of 30,000*l.* a year. The sum is as nothing when compared with the hundreds of thousands devoted to the same object now, but it was remarkably liberal for the beginning of the century.

While, however, difficulties of a financial kind receded, graver troubles before long began to make themselves felt. Fundamental principles, which excited little or no opposition when accompanied by gifts from the benevolence of private individuals, assumed a very different appearance when made the conditions of accepting grants which originated in the Imperial Parliament.

Complaints of two opposite kinds were made. On the one hand there were those who thought there was danger of proselytism if *any* religious instruction were given; on the other a demand was made for a fuller and more definite system of religious teaching. At first it was hoped that it would be possible to live down the opposition thus raised. The influence of the money at the Society's disposal was great. Every year saw more schools becoming connected, more teachers being trained, and more pupils in regular attendance. The upward progress continued unbroken until the year 1824, when there were 1,490 schools in connexion, with 100,000 'scholars.' 840 masters had been trained, and the training of mistresses had begun.

But while the Society was making this steady progress its opponents had also been gathering strength. Great nobles like the Duke of Leinster and Lord Cloncurry openly attacked its principles. Roman Catholic bishops, in particular the celebrated Dr. Doyle, denounced its methods. Politicians, such as O'Connell, hurled their invectives against its very existence. Its Roman Catholic inspectors found themselves publicly anathematized in the chapels. Roman Catholic teachers were refused the rites of their Church. Roman Catholic parents were commanded, under pain of similar penalties, to withhold their children from the schools.

In the hope of arriving at some mutually satisfactory solution of the difficult problem thus presented a Royal Commission was appointed in June 1824 to inquire into the situation. The evidence which they collected is of the deepest interest with reference to the whole question of religious education, and it bears particularly upon some of the points which still perplex the legislator. So far as the Kildare Place Society is concerned the Report of the Commission may be described as, on the one hand, the most complete vindication of the earnestness and integrity with which the Society pursued its work, while on the other it is a sweeping condemnation of the principles upon which the work was based, as being totally unsuitable for dealing with the religious aspirations of the people. The Commissioners found that the Roman Catholics were openly hostile; that the Established Church had never given any active support; that the Presbyterians alone had expressed themselves as favourable, but that they had done so not because they thought the principle of reading the Scripture 'without note or comment' was satisfactory in itself, but because they tolerated it 'as a concession to the general purposes of education.'

At least one passage of the Report deserves quotation, partly because it states so clearly why the Society failed, partly because it so admirably sums up the inherent shortcomings of all undenominational systems.

'It appears to us,' the Commissioners say, 'that the objection which may with the greatest propriety be urged against the Society is the very opposite to that which, during their course, they seem most to have apprehended; they feared lest they should have been considered as going too far on the subject of religion; in our opinion they *do not go far enough*.¹ While they have abstained, as a matter of necessity, from giving particular instruction in religion, they have rested on a compromise² the terms of which they have never been able perfectly to realize, and which, even if realized, no person is of opinion would have been completely satisfactory. His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin says, "The system just described is one I have never been able to approve of, standing by itself; if connected with another it may be made to be usefully instrumental." The chief defect in the general system is, that while a compromise² is rested on in the schools of the Society, the supplemental education in religion, which all admit to be indispensable, is, in fact, very insufficiently provided, and in some instances which have fallen under

¹ The italics are ours.

² The teaching of catechisms outside school hours, as recommended by the Kildare Place Society then, and the advocates of the School Board system now.

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our observation, we regret to say it is totally neglected. . . . We cannot but consider it as in the highest degree desirable to provide for such supplemental instruction being effectually given *in the schools themselves under circumstances that shall excite no jealousy or distrust.*¹

The Report of the Commission may be considered to have put an end to any prospect of final success on the part of the Society. It is true that no immediate action was taken by Parliament, and the Government grants continued until 1831. The delay, however, seems to have been solely due to the fact that no alternative plan had yet been matured.

It remained for the Right Hon. E. G. Stanley (afterwards Lord Derby), then Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant, to propose what was destined to become a permanent solution of the difficulties, in his famous letter addressed to the Duke of Leinster in October 1831.

Two brief quotations from the letter will be sufficient to indicate the lines along which it was intended the new Board should move.

The GENERAL PLAN is outlined as follows :

'In 1828, a Committee of the House of Commons, to which were referred the various reports of the Commissioners of Education, recommended a system to be adopted which should afford, if possible, *a combined literary and a separate religious education,*² and should be capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which divide Ireland as to render it in truth a system of national education for the lower classes of the community.'

The OBJECT, with reference to bringing together those of different religions, is thus given : 'One of the main objects must be to unite in one system children of different creeds.' As foreshadowed by Mr. Stanley the system of the National Board would appear to have been even more absolutely denominational than that of the Kildare Place Society. The Society, like the Board, took no cognizance of catechisms further than requiring their exclusion during school hours ; but it insisted rigidly on the reading of Holy Scripture. The Board, as originally planned, did not even propose to admit the Bible within school hours.³ The Society only left doctrinal religion to take care of itself, as it were. The Board proposed to keep all religion whatsoever at a distance.

To what circumstance, then, it may be asked, was it owing that the Kildare Place Society, as a Government institution, lasted only sixteen years, while the National Board, from

¹ The italics are ours.

² The italics are ours.

³ Powis Commission, vol. i. p. 33.

the date of its institution down to the present time, can show an unbroken record of progress, during which it has steadily increased in public favour and esteem?

The explanation is to be found in a sentence of the Stanley letter, which proved a correct indication of the whole subsequent policy of the Board. Mr. Stanley wished the new organization to be 'capable of being so far adapted to the views of the religious persuasions which divided Ireland as to render it in truth a system of national education.' There is no evidence to show that he in the least foresaw the course of events which his words described. This, however, is certain: the Board succeeded where the Society failed, because the flexibility of the one was as remarkable as the inflexibility of the other. Throughout the whole of its career the Society clung with an invincible tenacity to the principles upon which it was founded. Conscious only of noble motives, and of an invincible desire for truth, it forced itself into the belief that the time must come when all would recognize and acknowledge both the integrity and the wisdom of its policy. Even when the Report of the Commission made it no longer possible to ignore that peril was imminent it would have been considered treachery even to suggest a modification of the rules. Perish they might, but yield—never! Their spirit is seen in the way the Fourteenth Report concludes; it was the first published after the appearance of the recommendation of the Commission. Flung out in martyr capitals, stern, uncompromising, are the words, 'CLING TO YOUR PRINCIPLES.'

From the very first the National Board adopted a line of policy diametrically opposite. Even before the letter which called it into existence was written the process of adaptation had begun. Such men as Archbishop Whately were only induced to join on condition of the combined instruction being *moral* as well as literary; and, as the price of their adhesion, the original plan was virtually abandoned by the introduction into the ordinary course of *Extracts from Scripture, Sacred Poetry*, and Whately's *Christian Evidences*.¹ The concession secured the desired class of men, but it sowed the seeds of much future trouble.

The policy of conciliation, thus early begun, may be said to be characteristic of the Board's whole subsequent history. From the intrinsic difficulties of the problems which it had to solve, as well as from the sharply accentuated differences, which forbade the possibility of coalition between those for

¹ Powis Commission, vol. i. p. 43.

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whom it worked, it was inevitable that the fiercest storms of hostile criticism must be faced.

Over and over again, from 1831 down to the present time, the Board has been attacked with a ferocity which only an intimate knowledge of the circumstances can explain. From each great onslaught it has come forth less and less like the original Board of 1831, but more and more in accordance with the religious principles upon which all Irish parties are agreed, until at last the organization, which commenced with an undenominationalism which left even the Kildare Place Society behind, can now only be described truthfully as 'a denominational system with a conscience clause.'

Within the limits at our disposal it would neither be possible nor desirable to attempt anything like an historical sketch of the sixty-four years during which the National Board has been at work. Our purpose will be fully served by an indication of the main lines along which the attacks have moved, and of the principal modifications which have ensued.

As was natural, the Presbyterians were the first to open fire. Entirely satisfied as they were with the provisions of the Kildare Place Society, as the best that circumstances admitted, they were little inclined to tolerate, on the part of the new Board, any regulations which lessened the liberty they had enjoyed before. Some of the original proposals of the Stanley letter were directed towards inducing Churchmen, Dissenters, and Roman Catholics to combine in founding schools. The Board were directed 'to look with peculiar favour' upon joint applications of this kind. The object, of course, was to promote the fusion of the different religious bodies, and to cultivate principles of mutual respect and toleration. Nothing, however, could be more foreign to the instincts of a northern Presbyterian than association of any kind with a Roman Catholic priest. The Board was not well launched on its career before an agitation of the fiercest kind arose. The Presbyterians scorned the thought of combining with Roman Catholics for educational purposes; they scorned also an early provision of the Board, which made all National schools open to the various pastors, at the time set apart for religious instruction. In their opinion the presence of a priest, in what they considered their schools, was not to be tolerated at any cost. If the Board declined to yield to their feelings on these subjects they were prepared to separate as a body, and to organize a system of education for themselves.

Two important modifications rewarded the Presbyterian attacks. The expectation that schools would be founded by the different denominations, working together, fell into the background, and the important distinction between Vested and Non-Vested schools was introduced. When schools were built in whole or part by grants of public money they were required to be vested either in the Board or in trustees appointed by the Board, and in the cases of such Vested schools pastors of all denominations must be allowed access to their children. But when schools were the private property of those who managed them they were described as Non-Vested, from the fact of their not being vested in the Board, and in their case the rule as to pastors, other than those to whose denomination the school belonged, was repealed.

Following hard upon the Presbyterians came the Established Church, with a long-sustained series of assaults. The omission of the reading of the Bible during 'school hours' was, in the eyes of Churchmen, a cardinal offence. In this respect the Board compared unfavourably with the Kildare Place Society. The Society had suffered martyrdom rather than permit any child to attend its schools without reading the Scriptures. The Board declined to make any inquiries as to whether the Bible was read at all. It was in vain that attention was drawn to the full and complete provision made, not alone for the reading, but for the doctrinal teaching of the Bible, wherever such teaching was desired. Men declined to admit that Scriptural education was a subject as to which two views could be held; the system which tolerated the exclusion of the Bible was branded as a Godless system, and Churchmen, as with one voice, denounced the new Board and all its ways. The conflict thus aroused raged for years with unabated fury. Even in England its violence was felt, and at least one prelate, the Bishop of Exeter, took part vigorously in the struggle. As a rallying ground for the ecclesiastical enemies of the National Board the Church Education Society was formed. To the old principle of the Kildare Place Society, which insisted upon Scriptural Education for all, it added, in the case of Church children, definite instruction in the formularies of the Church, and so enlisted a warmth of sympathy which the older Society never could claim. The success which attended the promulgation of its principles was extraordinary. For a time its income from voluntary sources exceeded that of the Kildare Place Society in its best days of Government grants. Among its supporters it counted almost

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every Churchman of influence in the land. No less than seventeen out of twenty-two bishops were active on its side. So high did feeling run that a social ban, of the severest kind, fell on all in any way connected with the National Board.

And yet, if we ask what effect had this formidable opposition upon the regulations of the Board, all that can be adduced in answer is the definite inclusion among 'school hours' of whatever religious instruction the managers might wish to give. There was, in truth, no other possible concession. So far as the Church Education party founded their accusation upon an unwillingness to recognize the susceptibilities of Roman Catholics, the State, as a matter of course, refused to listen. So far as it took the definite form of demanding Scriptural education in all Government schools, to have yielded would only have been to repeat the discredited experiment of the Kildare Place Society.

But though no distinct alterations in the Board's rules resulted from the prolonged efforts of the Church Education party, they had indirectly the greatest weight in bringing about the conciliatory policy and the sympathy with denominationalism which have been characteristic of all the later developments of the Board. Thoroughly alive to the importance of doing everything that was possible in order to meet the wishes of a party at once so powerful and so charged with educational zeal, the Commissioners of National Education were always ready to meet any advances that might be made at least half-way. If Roman Catholic National schools had already been founded in a district, they were extremely slow to urge this as a reason for not sanctioning the opening of a Church National school as well, should there be any prospect of an attendance of Church children. If Church Education schools already in existence showed any tendency to come over to the Board, nothing was left undone to smooth their way. Difficulties which arose from the defects of their buildings met with a toleration which was sometimes more merciful than wise. Difficulties owing to the absence of special qualifications on the part of their teachers were surmounted by the introduction of most liberal regulations to facilitate their classification. Difficulties which occasionally sprang from an unwillingness to interfere with the religious decoration of the room were to a large extent removed by the discovery that the rules permitted the display of any religious picture or any texts of Scripture which were not of a controversial nature. As was foreseen

this policy of conciliation was destined to meet with success. As years passed by, and the fairness and liberality of the National Board's constitution came to be better understood, the opposition on the part of the Church gradually died away. Becoming content to allow to others the liberty they claimed for themselves, Churchmen came to value the full opportunities which the National Commissioners gave for inculcating the principles of their own faith, until at last the Board met with such unanimous support from members of the Church of Ireland that it required an effort for the younger generation to understand how it could ever have been opposed.

The last to enter the field and the last to leave it—they have not left it yet—were the Roman Catholics. At first they received the new Board, if not with open welcome, at least with silent satisfaction. It might well be so. By their own unaided efforts they had overthrown the Kildare Place Society. The compulsory reading of the Scripture, to which they had been so consistently hostile, found no place in the new proposals. On the contrary, throughout Mr. Stanley's plan there was a marked desire to give substantial recognition both to their numbers and their views. The earliest change made in deference to Roman Catholic wishes took place as far back as 1832, when nuns' schools were admitted to share the benefits of the national grants. This, however, was in no sense the result of any pronounced opposition, and it met with cordial support from Mr. Carlile, the Presbyterian secretary of the Board, on grounds curiously like those upon which the admission of the Christian Brethren has been advocated in some quarters during the present year.

But though the Board met with so favourable a reception at first, there was no intention of neglecting any opportunities that might occur of moulding it into as complete accord as possible with the ultra-denominational position of the Roman Catholic Church. It has been noted above (p. 128) that the change of 'combined literary' into combined *moral* and literary instruction, early became a source of trouble. We have seen that, as the immediate result of this change, three books of a religious nature were inserted in the programmes of the Board. It was upon these books that the attack was opened. It could scarcely be otherwise; their introduction virtually overturned the original principles of separate religious education. Those who had so bitterly opposed the reading of the Bible as a whole were not likely to be much more tolerant when asked to permit the study of *Scripture Extracts*.

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Side by side with the objection to the *Extracts* went the determination to be rid of everything which partook of the nature of combined religious instruction, and in order to give point and finality to this undertaking the original Conscience Clause, which, like that in force in England, was merely permissive, became the subject of constant criticism. The mere permission to withdraw from distasteful religious instruction was considered wholly unsatisfactory. An injunction making it compulsory for the teacher to exclude was sought instead.

When it is remembered that Archbishop Whately was only induced to join the Board by the inclusion of the *Extracts*, and the other books which were coupled with them, it will be understood that the controversy thus raised must of necessity have been acute. It led, in fact, to the most serious crisis in the whole history of the National Board; for, when the Roman Catholics prevailed, as they ultimately did, and the books in question were finally discontinued in 1852, the Archbishop and the other two Church members of the Board resigned their seats. The efforts made to secure a more absolutely secure Conscience Clause were more tardy in accomplishing their end; but at last, in 1866, the clause, which had previously undergone some minor modifications, finally took the desired shape.

Two other changes in the original constitution of the Board, one exclusively in favour of the Roman Catholics, the other of general advantage, need notice before passing to the next branch of our subject. On the original Board of seven members only two were Roman Catholics. In 1859 the number of the Commissioners was increased to twenty, of whom the Romanists contributed ten. The original prohibition directed against using National schools as places of worship has long since been withdrawn. Outside school hours the schoolroom may be used for any denominational service.

II. *The Recent Attempts to alter the Constitution of the National Board.*

Any account of National Education in Ireland, written at the present time, would be incomplete without at least some notice of a question which, if not burning itself, has certainly led to no little heart-burning in more quarters than one. There is the less need for any apology for introducing it here—where the chief object in hand is to show to what extent English Churchmen may base claims upon the concessions made to the denominational principle in Ireland—because a clear

understanding as to the line where concessions have ceased is one of the surest ways of comprehending their extent.

So far back as 1854 the Roman Catholics had formulated a number of objections against the shortcomings of the National Board from a purely denominational standpoint. Of these objections two at least have been prominent ever since. They were directed against (1) the rule which forbids the suspension of the ordinary school business for spiritual exercises; (2) the prohibition of religious emblems. The necessary outcome of this position was a demand for separate schools, in which no restrictions of any kind should be imposed upon religious observances. From the Commissioners of Education a proposal so revolutionary obtained no hearing whatsoever. They contented themselves with refusing to entertain it, on the ground that they were an administrative, not a legislative body.

But the Powis Commission, which was appointed in 1866, the very year in which these Roman Catholic proposals had been definitely formulated, took a different view of the situation, and did not hesitate to recommend that, under certain well-defined conditions, schools of the kind desired might be permitted. The prescribed conditions were mainly three, which may be thus stated: (1) No application could be entertained unless there were at least two good schools, under the management of different denominations, in the locality. (2) The efficiency of the schools was attended to by requiring that their average attendance must not be less than twenty-five. (3) Their permanence was to a certain extent secured by requiring that they must both have been in operation for three years.

If we except the additional weight which they lent to Roman Catholic demands, these recommendations of the Powis Commission bore no fruit until the passing of the Free and Compulsory Education Act of 1892. It so happened that the compulsory clauses of the Act were drafted in such a way as to make it possible for the local authorities to set them on one side, if so inclined. In these days of keen political feeling the opportunity thus provided was readily grasped, and it was grasped in a way which for the time at any rate appeared eminently plausible.

The schools of the Christian Brothers have always been popular in Ireland. Carrying on an extensive educational work, after their own fashion and by means of funds privately supplied, they have won for themselves general respect. As was not unnatural, regret, in which, to do them justice, the

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Christian Brothers appear to have had least share, has been often expressed that their schools could not enjoy the benefits of the grant for national education. This regret was quickened into a fierce political opposition, which paralyzed the compulsory clauses of the Education Act, when it was found that no special provision had been made in the Act for the admission of the Christian Brothers' schools. To meet the difficulty thus raised the Commissioners of National Education were requested, in the autumn of 1892, by Mr. Jackson, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, to consider whether it was possible to so alter or amend their rules as to remedy the apparent omission.

After many delays, arising from the changes in the Government and various other causes, the answer of the Commissioners at last took definite shape in the proposed new rules, which were published, together with the correspondence relating to them between the Commissioners and Mr. Morley, in June 1895. The provisions of these rules may perhaps be summarized by stating that they unreservedly adopted the proposals of the Powis Commission with reference to the unrestricted permission of denominational education, but that they went far beyond the Commission in the removal of the 'obstacles' or 'safeguards' (as they would be respectively termed by opposing parties) with which the original proposals were accompanied. There were to be no purely denominational schools, unless two 'efficient' schools, managed by different denominations, existed in the locality. So far the Board agreed with the Commission. But the conditions which the Commission considered essential for approaching the estimate of efficiency and of permanence disappeared. No attempt was made to define efficiency; permanence was left dependent on a rule, by most held to be unworkable, to the effect that whenever there ceased to be two 'efficient' schools the new denominational privileges must be withdrawn. A further and bolder advance provided for the abolition of the old Conscience Clause, but substituted for it a stringent if novel protection, to the effect that pupils whose religion differed from that taught should be absolutely excluded from all the new denominational schools. When it is added that the rules were intended to affect not alone the Christian Brothers, and the places where their exclusion interfered with the Compulsory Education Act, but all localities in Ireland which fulfilled the conditions by possessing two 'efficient schools,' enough will have been said to convey at once the general nature and the sweeping extent of the changes proposed.

Very great was the excitement caused by the publication of the rules, and the correspondence with which they were accompanied. At a glance it was apparent that the Commissioners themselves were sharply divided on the subject. It was true that a large majority, consisting of all the Roman Catholics and most of the Churchmen, had voted in their favour. On the other hand all the Presbyterians, with at least one Churchman, were in strong opposition. It was equally plain that the Liberal Government, as represented by Mr. Morley, viewed the proposed changes in general with little approval, and were obstinately hostile to the provisions which sought to close the doors of State-aided schools against all who did not belong to a certain denomination.

Encouraged by this diversity of opinion, Churchmen and Nonconformists began to ask themselves if there was any real reason why the rules should ever be carried into law, and unfavourable opinions began to pour in on all sides. The opposition on the part of the Church of Ireland was led by the late Primate, Dr. Gregg. The Bishops of Meath and Cork were equally distinct in their pronouncements. Such of the Synods as met, after public attention was aroused, for the most part followed in the same direction, and finally the Standing Committee of the General Synod by a majority of nineteen to four adopted a powerful protest against the rules. Even more unanimous was the action of the Nonconformist bodies, by whom the rules were attacked with unqualified vehemence and much political force. The opinion of the opponents of the rules as published found able and typical expression in the pamphlets by Dean Dickenson and Dr. Tristram. The Dean, and those who sided with him, took up an uncompromising attitude of hostility to any changes in the direction of denominationalism and the further endowment of Roman Catholics. Dr. Tristram, while keenly criticizing the shape which the rules had taken, as being certain to injure deeply the interests of the Church of Ireland, so far from being hostile to a carefully-guarded advance in the denominational direction, demonstrated, with much cogency, that such an advance would only be the natural conclusion to the trend of all the Board's development, and enumerated a variety of ways in which such an advance, if properly made, might confer benefits upon the Church.

Meanwhile there prevailed a remarkable, and as it proved an ominous, silence on the part of all qualified to speak either on behalf of the Roman Catholics generally, or of the Brothers, for whose sake the reforms were ostensibly proposed. It is

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not necessary to peer into the secret forces at work, or to attempt to gauge the mysterious machinations which produced so extraordinary a *dénouement*. Enough that when the subject came up for final settlement in the House of Commons Mr. Gerald Balfour astounded his hearers by the announcement that the Brothers declined to accept the terms so eagerly proffered, and that the Lord-Lieutenant had refused to sanction the new rules.

III. *The Rules and Regulations of the Commissioners of National Education.*

Having sketched the development of State-aided elementary education from its undenominational beginnings to its present quasi-denominational position, and having described the recent unsuccessful attempt to introduce a denominationalism so unqualified as to imperil the rights of minorities, it remains to give a concise account of some of the rules and regulations at present in force, whose provisions are beneficial and whose introduction elsewhere might conceivably be helpful.

THE FINANCIAL SYSTEM deserves special prominence, owing to the fact that its extension to England was specially asked for in the National Society's Bill.

All payments¹ regulated by the National Board are made from the Imperial Exchequer, and become the property of the teacher, in whose name they are made out. The number of the teachers is fixed by the Board, one being allowed for every thirty-five pupils in average attendance. The payments which these teachers receive from the State fall under three main heads—(1) Class Salaries, (2) Results Fees, (3) Capital Grants.

(1) Perhaps the most characteristic feature of the Irish system is the principle of attaching a definite salary to each class, and in the case of Class I. to each division of a class. The following is the scale at present in operation:—

	Masters	Mistresses
Class III.	42 <i>l</i> .	33 <i>l</i> .
Class II.	52 <i>l</i> .	41 <i>l</i> .
Class I. (lower division)	63 <i>l</i> .	51 <i>l</i> .
Class I. (higher division)	84 <i>l</i> .	69 <i>l</i> .

Wherever the salary rises the teacher has to qualify for promotion by passing an examination. Only trained teachers

¹ The exception in the case of the payments of 'contributory unions' is so partial as to need no special reference.

are eligible for Class I. The upper division of Classes III. and II. are attained upon the recommendation of the inspector, for successful school-keeping. Except in the case of teachers in training the inspector's recommendation is also necessary to obtain admission to the examination. It is refused when good work has not been done in the school.

(2) The Irish results system differs from that formerly in force in England in no material way excepting that it is partial—*i.e.* only a part of the salary depends upon the results. Where the results are exceptionally good they may amount to about half the total salary.

(3) Capitation grants, amounting generally to about 7s. a head, are paid for each pupil in average attendance.

The above regulations apply to the cases of teachers who have schools with an average attendance of thirty, or in the case of Class I. of thirty-five. Special regulations of a liberal kind are in force for smaller schools, with the result that any denomination which can show an average of ten pupils has little difficulty in obtaining a grant for a school of its own.

It will be observed that these salary regulations not only encourage the teachers to increase the numbers and improve the acquirements of their pupils, but they operate directly in bringing about the improvement of the teachers themselves. There are few teachers not willing to undergo both study and training when they afford the prospect of attaining to fixed salaries of a substantial amount.

THE MANAGER.—Any individual, upon whose application a school is taken into connexion with the National Board, is considered the patron of the school. It is the same when application is made by a committee. The manager is appointed by the patron. An individual patron may appoint himself manager, should he so please, but a committee must select some one person to act on their behalf. So soon as the manager is appointed, the authority of the patron is completely effaced. It only revives when for any reason a change of manager is necessary. A high official in the service of the Commissioners lately delivered an opinion to the effect that the whole system of the National Board might be tersely summed up by a creed of one clause—'I believe in the Manager.' The manager controls the uses to which the school-house may be put. He appoints and dismisses the teacher; he arranges the school fees wherever the Act of 1892 allows fees to be charged at all; he fixes the holidays; he conducts the official correspondence—in a word, the manager is sovereign in all matters relating to the school, save in

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so far as they may be stereotyped for all schools by the overruling regulations of the Board. It is a fixed principle with the National Board that they will recognize individuals, and individuals only. Not alone schools but even training colleges must have their managers. College boards and school committees may exist or not exist, so far as the Commissioners of Education are concerned—they acknowledge only the one man.

The large power of the managers is based upon the theory of a dual control. Mr. Stanley originally stated it thus: 'The Board will invariably require, as a condition not to be departed from, that no local funds shall be raised upon which any aid from the public funds shall be dependent.' When the Board was first formed the local contributions commonly exceeded those given by the State. Not alone did the localities build the schools, and provide furniture, requisites, and repair funds; they were also expected to guarantee a salary. Time has wrought strange changes in the facts upon which the dual theory is based. It is, indeed, just possible to point to cases still—small schools in prosperous localities—where the local funds equal or exceed the public aid. But in the vast majority of instances the funds subscribed locally have dwindled into insignificance. Frequently no attempt is made to go beyond keeping the fabric in repair. Not seldom schools are built, furnished, and maintained, from the payment of the teachers down to the most trivial repair, out of the State contributions, the sole charge upon the locality being a nominal third of the cost of building. In fact, so entirely have the pecuniary liabilities of those who initiated the schools ceased to exist that it is only by a process of reasoning not far removed from a legal fiction that the localities can be considered to contribute at all. As Mr. Balfour said at Bristol, 'practically the whole cost falls on the Imperial Exchequer.' And yet the power of the manager remains supreme, accentuated rather than diminished by the sweeping away of the conditions from which it sprang.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.—Of prime importance, in connexion with the difficulties attending the subject in England, are the regulations for religious instruction under the National Board. Absolute freedom in the matter of dogmatic teaching is the characteristic of the rules. Indeed, this is rather an understatement of the case, for though the Board makes no inquiries as to the nature or the quality of the religious teaching, it takes the fullest precautions to ensure that no pupils are taught by teachers with whose teaching the parents

are not in agreement. The utmost facility is given in all classes of schools for providing teachers of the same creed as the children. If children of different religions happen to attend a single school the tendency is to have the principal teacher of one denomination and a proportion of the assistants of another. In smaller schools the same principle shows itself in the choice of monitors. When from any cause there are pupils whose denomination is not represented on the staff it is imperative for the teacher to cause the withdrawal of the pupils during the religious hour, unless their clergy attend and catechize.

For the attendance of the clergy, and their catechetical instruction, the fullest provision is made. The managers, who for the most part are clerical, are at liberty to fix for religious teaching whatever hour suits them best, and they may take any or all the classes, and in any branch of the subject, according as they think fit. There is even a further privilege accorded. Whenever a school is 'Vested'¹ those responsible for its management must arrange for the pastors of all children in attendance to teach either in the schoolroom or in an adjoining class-room. This privilege cannot be claimed as a right by those outside the management of Non-Vested schools. It is, however, frequently volunteered, because it is commonly found that no difficulties arise from the custom. The distinctions between the denominations remain clear and well-defined, but instead of exciting animosity they are treated with uniform respect.

The regulations under which this freedom of religious teaching exists are of an extremely simple character. The two principal rules are as follows:

'Religious instruction, prayer, or other religious exercises may take place before and after the ordinary school business (during which all children, of whatever denomination they may be, are required to attend) and may take place *at one intermediate time* between the commencement and the close of the ordinary school business.

'In all day National schools not less than four hours a day (including, if necessary, a play time of not more than half an hour) must be provided in the "time table" for the ordinary secular business on five days in the week.'

If to these two rules be added the Compulsory Conscience Clause, we have all the framework upon which is based a religious system which satisfies all, except those who, like the

¹ For the distinction between Vested and Non-Vested schools see above, p. 184.

Christian Brothers, desire to exhibit religious emblems and to interrupt the secular work hourly for the purpose of religious exercises. The gradual way in which the Compulsory Conscience Clause was evolved has already (pp. 180, *sqq.*) been described. Its great advantage is that it silences criticism. It is quite possible for a permissive clause to work equally well, but there is always room for the charge, so often made in connexion with English voluntary schools, that improper means have been used to prevent the pupils from availing themselves of the power of withdrawal, which the clause gives. No such charge can be brought when teachers must exclude all children of a different denomination from their own, unless they have, from parents or guardians, written permission to retain them.

With this compressed summary of the present organization of the National Board it is necessary to bring our account of Irish State-aided Elementary Education to a close. There are, of course, many additional rules and regulations which would prove of interest were it possible to refer to them. Enough, however, has probably been said to show how completely the undenominational theories, with which the work of elementary education began, have been modified so as to accord with the denominational desires of the people. In theory combined education was planned: in practice separate education has resulted; in theory denominational differences were ignored: in practice the religious susceptibilities of all have been considered, and provision has been made for definite denominational teaching. In theory schools were to be the joint property of all the denominations concerned: in practice they have become as much the property of individual denominations as if they were uncontrolled by the State. In a word, an undenominational system was what statesmen planned as being most likely to accord with the feelings of the people; but experience has proved that the country will tolerate no system which is not as strongly denominational as is consistent with the full protection of the consciences of all whom it is meant to reach.

ART. XII.—THE EDUCATION BILL.

A Bill to make further Provision for Education in England and Wales. 1896.

THE anxiously expected Bill has at length made its appearance, and it is a pleasure to be able to say that it has not disappointed the anticipations of those who hoped that the Government would deal with the subject in a fair and liberal manner. There are, of course, many points on which we desire further information, some on which we have to suspend our judgment until further light has been thrown upon them by the discussions which will take place in Parliament, and others which we should be glad to see altered; but still, so far as we understand what is proposed, the Bill, taken as a whole, seems drawn in the same spirit that marked the utterances of some leading members of the Government in the past.

The Bill is much more than what seemed to be shadowed forth in what was said about it in the Queen's Speech. It provides a new method of administration in educational matters, and includes under that head secondary, as well as elementary, education. The Education Department proposes to get rid of a considerable portion of the detail connected with the oversight of the elementary schools of the country by decentralizing the administration of the money voted by Parliament for education. For this purpose it calls into existence a new education authority, which has to some extent been taken from the recommendations of the secondary education commission. Every county council is to be required to appoint an education committee, to consist of the number of members itself may determine, the majority to be members of the county council, the others to be selected at their pleasure. To this education authority the Education Department may transfer 'the administration of all or any of the duties of that Department in respect of all or any part of the money provided by Parliament for public education, or for the Department of Science and Art, so far as it is applied in aid of schools in that county, and in respect of securing or certifying the efficiency of schools in the county,' the Education Department laying down the conditions on which such funds are to be administered; and a formal agreement being entered into between the Department and the education authority that is to be laid on the table of both Houses of Parliament before it is operative. It is a matter for con-

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gratulation that this education authority is to be appointed by the county council and not by popular election. Had the latter been the arrangement teachers might be tempted to make their votes depend upon a promise from the candidate that he would vote for their salaries being increased, as is now sometimes what happens at school board elections.

Beside this the powers of a county council as a local authority under the Technical Instruction Act, 1889, except as to raising money, are to be transferred to this new education authority, as also is the distribution of the residue of the money raised under Section 1 of the Local Taxation (Customs and Excise) Act, 1890, that has to be applied 'to educational purposes, other than the provision or maintenance of elementary schools.' It is also to be substituted for the school attendance committee for any school district in the county where there is no school board. It is also to take over 'the powers of a county council in relation to industrial schools and reformatories, except as to raising money, and to arrange about the care and maintenance of all or any of the children chargeable to the union.' Moreover, it may undertake the provision of elementary schools without requiring the formation of a school board, and existing school boards may transfer to this education authority any schools belonging to them, and then the borough county council shall become the school board of the district, and the school board cease to exist. Further, when the Education Department shall declare any school board to be in default, it may constitute the education authority the school board for the district. Power is given to enable this authority to appoint local managers, through whom its powers may be exercised. In addition to those duties which refer mainly to elementary education, the education authority may

'aid any school to provide secondary education, or, with the consent of the Education Department, take a transfer of any school which provides such education, and is not an elementary school; or establish a school of the kind; or establish and maintain scholarships or exhibitions; supply, or aid in supplying, teachers; make inquiries with respect to the sanitary condition of school buildings; or with respect to the education given by any school within their county; or give information to the public concerning such inquiries.'

Moreover, it may, with the consent of the Education Department, aid any establishment or organization for the purpose of improving the efficiency of the teaching staff in elementary or other schools. For some of these objects the consent of a Secretary of State or the Local Government

Board is to be required; whilst in others, as we have already noted, the Education Department has to give its approval.

We are far from thinking that the county council is an ideal body for the discharge of these multifarious duties, but we know of no better. Popular consent has to be sought whenever money has to be raised by rate; and the existing law allows a penny rate to be levied for some of the objects named above, whilst the 'beer money,' as it is called, is to be given to this body, and the sums raised for technical education; besides which there are the payments from the Education Department and the Science and Art Department. The manner in which this body conducts its affairs will have to be narrowly watched, and much will depend upon the members who constitute it; and we trust that our friends will take increased interest in the election of county councils so as to secure that good and trusty men may have a leading part in the management of their affairs. We regret that this body should possess the power of erecting and maintaining secondary schools; we think it would have been much better if they had been limited to assisting others to commence such undertakings, and then leave the management in other hands. In our opinion secondary schools ought to be self-supporting, and whilst the State ought to safeguard the interests of the rising generation by taking care that illiterate, or immoral, or incompetent persons are not allowed to have schools, the greatest freedom should be permitted to persons falling under none of these categories to undertake the office of a teacher in suitable sanitary buildings. Beside this, if the responsibility for such schools is left in private hands, they will be economically managed; if placed in those of a public body, they are certain to be costly, and eventually to make many demands on public funds.

This important part of the Bill having been examined, we turn next to the proposed provision for assisting necessitous elementary schools, believing the strain upon their managers has to a great extent been the cause for agitating for some such measure as that now before us. The proposed help is thus stated:

'For the assistance of public elementary schools requiring special aid there shall be paid in every financial year, out of moneys provided by Parliament, to the education authority of each county, a special aid grant calculated at the rate of four shillings for each scholar who, during the preceding financial year, was either in a Voluntary school in the county or in a school of any school board in

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the county which, but for this Act, would be entitled to a special parliamentary grant under section 97 of the Elementary Education Act, 1870.

It is further provided that this 'special aid grant shall be reduced by the amount applied for the maintenance of the school during the financial year from any endowment held in trust for the benefit of the school.' The special grant is to be paid quarterly or at such times as the department may appoint. And to encourage schools to confederate it is directed that the education authority shall pay this special grant for schools so confederated to persons appointed by them to form a common fund applicable for special aid to such associated schools in accordance with a scheme approved from time to time by the education authority.

Beside this the 'seventeen and sixpenny limit' is to be done away with, or rather is to be altered, so that schools for older children may receive a pound, and those for infants seventeen shillings; and all rates, local or otherwise, on the schoolrooms, offices, and playgrounds of public elementary schools are to be paid by the overseers of the parish, and to be obtained by them out of the fund out of which the expenses of the school attendance committee are paid. This is, of course, real exemption from rates for the schools, and the reason for the exemption being made in this way arises from a statutable limitation of the amount at which rates for the police can be levied, and as the sum now raised barely suffices for the purpose, it would be undesirable to diminish the rateable value on which the rate is levied.

The question will be raised whether an additional grant of four shillings is sufficient. The strongest argument against its sufficiency is furnished by the Bill which permits school boards to raise by rate twenty shillings for every child educated in their schools. Either this allowance is excessive or the grant is insufficient, as Voluntary schools cannot be expected to raise ten shillings per child more from voluntary sources than they now do. On the other hand, the better and more economical management of voluntary managers may do much to rectify the difference.

There are also new powers given to the managers of Voluntary schools to borrow money, and the compulsory age for attendance at school is raised from eleven to twelve.

To meet the outcry raised against the extravagance of some school boards, and the consequent increased expenditure demanded from all elementary schools, it is proposed to limit the school board rate in the following ways. Without the

consent of the council of the borough, parish, or county, a school board shall not receive from the rating authority a sum for the annual maintenance of its schools in excess of the sum required for each scholar in the school board year preceding the passing of this Act, or a sum equal to twenty shillings per scholar in its schools during that year. It is doubtful whether the ratepayers will profit much by this regulation, as there is not only a dispensing power to extend the amount to be levied, but there is also provision for the sum required to be extended so far as may be necessary to meet any prospective engagements into which the school board may have entered. The thing to be said in its favour is that it recognizes that there is need for some restraint to be placed upon the expenditure of school boards, and when accounts have to be exhibited to an external and not necessarily friendly body, there is some chance of the responsible persons shrinking from incurring expenditure that cannot obviously be justified.

The only other point to which it is necessary to call attention is the proposal for obtaining some kind of religious liberty for teaching Church children in Board schools and Nonconformist children in Church schools. It stands thus :

‘One of the regulations in accordance with which a public elementary school is required to be conducted shall be that if the parents of a reasonable number of the scholars attending the school require that separate religious instruction be given to their children, the managers shall, so far as is practicable, whether the religious instruction in the school is regulated by any trust, deed, scheme, or other instrument or not, permit reasonable arrangements to be made for allowing such religious instruction to be given, and shall not be precluded from doing so by the provisions of any such deed, scheme, or instrument. Any question which may arise under this section as to what is reasonable or practicable shall be determined by the Education Department, whose decision shall be final.’

On reading this, the ‘question’ naturally arises : On what terms is this religious teaching to be given ? Is it to be subject to the condition imposed by the Cowper-Temple Clause, that no religious catechism or formulary may be used ? If so it only makes the present state of things more intolerable, as it would give liberty to demand undenominational teaching in Church schools, but would give no power worth naming to Churchmen to give the instruction they think desirable in Board schools. If a rule was laid down that arithmetic was to be taught, but on no condition was a child to be allowed to learn the multiplication table, people would understand

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the absurdity of such a requirement. The case of trying to teach religion to children without catechism or formula is precisely similar; only men of the world, who know little and care less about religion, are unable to see it. If the Cowper-Temple Clause is repealed we should welcome the adoption of this clause. If it is to remain in full force we would rather it was rejected, as it might do some harm, and would certainly do no good. Or possibly the end sought might be attained if the words 'or Act of Parliament' were inserted after the word 'instrument' in the clause.

Subject to this objection, and the one we have urged about secondary schools, we welcome the Bill, and hope that it may pass into law. There are many points in it which require elucidating, and which will no doubt be made clear as the Bill passes through committee. To mention one or two matters on which we desire more information: With whom is to rest the power of authorizing the erection of new schools capable of receiving government grants? Is that power to remain, as at present, with school boards, or is it to be transferred to the new education authority? We object to both. The school boards in Wales and elsewhere have shown the narrowest sectarian spirit in forbidding denominational schools; and to judge from the speeches of Sir G. Osborn Morgan and others on the introduction of this Bill into Parliament, it seems probable that the education authority in Welsh counties would not be more liberal or fair. Then we want to know more about the education authority. We want to see its powers defined more closely; to know what religious teaching it may give in the schools under its management; what control it is to exert over other schools of the same character; what qualifications will be required for its members; what is to render persons disqualified for sharing in its councils. Moreover power ought to be given for reclaiming schools that have been handed over to school boards, and so alienated for ever from the Church, that supplied the funds for their erection, even though the board may have furnished some money for their repair or improvement. These are important matters, and should in some way be dealt with by the Bill. The Bill is in many respects bold and equitable in what it proposes; we should have been glad if in some respects it had gone further. It will be a matter for regret if the opportunity is lost of placing the whole educational question on such a just and considerate basis that it may last for generations; and experience has shown that no Act on the subject can be permanent that favours

one body of religionists at the expense of another. We want no favour for the schools we approve, but we insist upon justice, and agitation cannot cease until this has been secured. We profess to believe in religious liberty. Our present system of popular education would be more truly described as one of religious tyranny.

SHORT NOTICES.

The Works of Joseph Butler, D.C.L., sometime Lord Bishop of Durham. Divided into sections; with sectional headings, an Index to each volume, and some occasional Notes; also prefatory matter. Edited by the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896.)

MR. GLADSTONE'S edition of *Bishop Butler* has now appeared in the form of two goodly volumes, printed at the Clarendon Press. The editing of Butler has indeed been to the venerable statesman pre-eminently a work of love (*ingenti percussus amore*), as well as of conscientious duty. Nevertheless we cannot but be amazed at the amount of energy, perseverance, and hard work which he still retains at his advanced age. No one who knows the nature of the task which he has undertaken and brought to completion can miss seeing the vast amount of patient labour which he has expended on these volumes. Nor is this all. The work itself is promptly to be followed by the publication of a collection of essays, which will further illustrate, and place in its proper nineteenth-century aspect, the great work of Butler. It will of course be impossible for us fully to estimate the work of the editor till we are in possession of this further instalment, but in the meantime we may take notice of the volumes now issued.

The great purpose which the editor has had in view in the present edition is stated by him to be to give the student reader access to the substance and meaning of Butler. Mr. Gladstone is deeply impressed with the necessity of this at the present time. If we understand him rightly, it is in his opinion important that the reasoning of Butler should be brought to bear on the present age. We are quite at one with him in this view, and only differ in regard to his too modest estimate of his own qualifications for accomplishing the end in view. It is easy to say that a professional student might have been the proper person to edit Butler; but not to mention that even as a student Mr. Gladstone ranks high, it is important to remember that Butler's reasoning is in an especial sense addressed to men of the world. What we want to know is the estimate of that reasoning formed by a man of the world; by one whose life has been spent in the very centre of the world's contests. We do not so much want to know whether the arguments can be logically defended, as whether they are substantially sound, and how far they would be received by and impress the average man of the world,

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could we only get them fairly put before him. This last is, in truth, the great difficulty, and we think there is probably no one better qualified to reawaken interest in Butler than the eminent editor himself.

But, in truth, the task undertaken by Mr. Gladstone needs no apology, and the work itself will be its best justification. In our opinion this will constitute the most complete and helpful edition of Butler, inasmuch as all the pieces discoverable have been got together, and by means of sections and references welded into one whole. The editor thus indicates the features of the work :

'1. The *Analogy*, and the other works with slight exceptions, have been broken into sections.

'2. Every section has been supplied with a heading, intended to assist the eye, and, as far as may be, the mind of the reader, by an indication of its contents.

'3. Indexes to each volume have been provided, and they are framed upon a separate perusal and following of the text as close as the present editor could make it.

'4. He has ventured to add a limited number of notes, in part explanatory and in part illustrative.

'5. An Appendix has been added to volume ii. The several pieces which it contains are all of them either by Butler or associated with his name.

'6. The Text of the *Analogy* has been duly considered, under the supervision of the authorities of the University Press and the aid furnished by Bishop Fitzgerald's edition of the *Analogy* (Dublin, 1849), in which many corrections of the current edition of 1844 were made, and a collation with the original text of 1736 was embodied.'

We thus see that the characteristic feature of Mr. Gladstone's edition is found in the particulars indicated in 1 and 2 ; we mean the breaking up of the text into sections and the placing of headings to each section. In regard to this there may possibly be difference of opinion ; but having carefully considered the matter, our opinion is, that it is a great advantage and help to the student. Obviously it facilitates, and in many cases makes possible, references from one part to another, which are so essential to a thorough study of Butler. It is clear also that the breaking up of a chapter into paragraphs with their headings gives a series of pauses in the labour of reading, and affords the means of easy retrospection to pick up and carry on the line of argument. As Mr. Gladstone remarks, such divisions undoubtedly assist the eye, and to a considerable extent the mind also. Dr. Whewell was the first who made a step in this direction in his edition of six of the sermons in 1849. He divided the text into paragraphs or articles, regularly numbered, and prefixed to them a corresponding list in 160 sentences, each of a very few words, which Mr. Gladstone remarks might very well have been printed as headings on the margin. Mr. Gladstone also appeals to the precedent of the ancient philosophers, where divisions of a like kind have for a long time been considered as essential ; and he remarks, what is very true, that there is none of them, except perhaps Aristotle, the tissue of whose thought is closer than that of Butler.

Still, in the case of Butler, one cannot fail to see the immense difficulty of satisfactorily performing such a task. The reading of Butler is like walking on stepping stones. Each sentence is such a stone, and the wary pedestrian when he alights on one has carefully to balance himself till he ventures to take a leap to the next adjoining. In this way in a single paragraph a very considerable advance is often made, point succeeding point in regular order. How are you to compress the whole of this advance in a single sentence? Butler is so unlike the ordinary run of even able authors, in whom a single thought is turned in various ways, and illustrated in a single paragraph. It is easy in such a case to place a heading. But in Butler you have to dive under the surface and find the leading thought at which the whole series in the paragraph is aiming.

It is from this point of view that we can estimate the immense amount of labour which Mr. Gladstone has bestowed on these divisions and headings. For they have been carefully and conscientiously done, and we venture to think with remarkable success.

Mr. Gladstone has been very sparing in notes, and we think the reason he gives for this is a just one. Copious notes too often tend to constitute a cloud between the mind of the reader and that of the author. It is true that there are some books where notes are almost essential to the understanding of the text. Such is the case in historical works by ancient authors, as also in the case of an author writing in reference to a state of things which has passed away, but who leaves much of permanent value. In the latter case, unless the reader by means of notes has the vanished particulars resuscitated, he cannot fully enter into and appreciate the arguments. But Butler is not an author of that description. The positions he attacks are not remote or recondite, but the doubts and scepticisms which from age to age beset the path of mankind.

If in addition to what we have said we mention the valuable indexes which the editor has made, we have indicated the chief points of the present edition. There are two indexes, one for each volume, constructed with great care and labour; and also numerous references, made easy by the division into paragraphs, from one part of the works to another.

At the end of the second volume there is an Appendix consisting principally of fragments and letters; some of them not hitherto published. They are partly fragmentary pieces proceeding from the pen of Butler, partly bearing more or less on Butler, his character and life. Amongst these there are some of an interesting character. We are glad, for instance, to have his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, which gives a fugitive glance reaching deep into his character and personality. The account of his interview with John Wesley might also have been of great interest; but unhappily the Bishop's part in that interview has been scantily reported, and unintentionally, no doubt, it carries an impression unfavourable to the Bishop. The interview lasted a considerable time, and from what is said it is clear that the Bishop led the conversation, and that Wesley was rather hard put to it to hold his ground.

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The conversation begins by the Bishop pointing out that faith itself is a good work—a virtuous temper of mind. The Bishop no doubt, from a theological point of view, associated faith with hope and love, just as all three are associated in Holy Scripture. From this point of view, faith no doubt is the gift of God, just as hope and love are the gifts of God. But it needs to be appropriated by the soul, just as the other two need to be appropriated; and when so appropriated they all become, as the Bishop says, a virtuous temper of mind, and the works proceeding from them are good works. To this Wesley altogether demurs. He cannot look at faith in this connexion. He regards it as something quite unique, something which has no connexion with the other features of the Christian life. It is, he says, a gift of God, in a sense, we presume, different from that in which hope and love are the gifts of God, and he adds the pregnant statement, 'It is a gift that presupposes in us *nothing but sin and misery*.' In reply, the Bishop points out the consequences of this extreme tenet. It makes God a tyrannical Being, for He justifies some without any goodness in them preceding, and does not justify all. Wesley weakly meets this objection by replying: The others are not justified, because they 'resist the Spirit,' because 'they will not come unto Him that they may have life'—forgetting that by his previous extreme teaching he had made these texts inapplicable. From the Bishop's point of view they might have been quoted, not from his.

Nothing more was to be gained on this line, and the Bishop changes the point of view by asking: 'What do you mean by faith?' To this Wesley answers readily: 'A conviction wrought in a man by the Holy Ghost, that Christ hath loved him, and given Himself for him, and that through Christ his sins are forgiven.' To this the Bishop is represented as replying: 'I believe some good men have this, but not all.' We wonder whether the Bishop was here probing the great practical difficulty in carrying out the Wesleyan system. The difficulty is this. It is only a very small minority that can be worked up to the height of this conviction. A second and more numerous class of well-intentioned people believe that they ought to have it, and more or less force themselves to think that they have it, while a third class—by far the most numerous—know that they have it not. These last are waiting for their conversion, and hope that they may be converted before they die. The evil of the system is that these last are left without any religious restraint whatever, for they are taught to believe that when conversion comes it will wipe out the whole past, however dark it may be.

The Bishop passes on to another point, by asking, 'How do you prove this to be the justifying faith taught by our Church?' In answer Wesley refers to the 'Homily on Salvation,' which speaks of 'a sure trust or confidence that a man hath in God, that through the merits of Christ his sins are forgiven.' But a sure 'trust or confidence' is, from a theological point of view, something which differs *toto celo* from a 'conviction or certainty.' The former presupposes the Christian life, the latter excludes all reference to it. So the Bishop answers, 'Why, sir, this is quite another thing.'

But in addition to the theological aspect of the movement, reports had reached the Bishop of excited doings in the meetings, which must have been very painful to him, as they would be to any one of staid and sober judgment. It was no doubt these reports, more, perhaps, than the theological aspect of the movement, which led the Bishop rather warmly to express his disapproval.

The scanty report of what the Bishop said is very disappointing, for, no doubt, had it been fully reported we should have got some glimpses into his inner life. But from what has been said we can clearly gather how uncongenial the Wesleyan system must have been to him. As a system it is subversive of the Christian life; not, indeed, directly, but indirectly, inasmuch as it relegates it to a secondary place, as not being the 'root of the matter.' But to the mind of Butler the Christian life was all in all. It was the one clear, indisputable fact; a light shining in a dark place, a reflection of heaven. On the firm foundation of this life he had, by means of his presumptions and probabilities, erected an impassable barrier against all doubts and scepticisms. What must have been his disappointment to see in this new system the whole case given away. How could he see unmoved Christianity turned into a one-sided system which it was impossible to defend—a system which made it impossible to vindicate the ways of God to man? No wonder he spoke warmly.

The Marriage of Divorced Persons in Church. Two Sermons preached in St. Paul's Cathedral on February 16 and 23, 1896. By the Right Rev. G. F. BROWNE, B.D., Bishop of Stepney, Canon of St. Paul's. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896.)

THIS little book contains two very powerful sermons by the Suffragan Bishop of Stepney. The first sermon makes the incidents in the lives of the patriarchs Abraham and Isaac in which, for the sake of personal safety, they represented that Sarah and Rebekah were not their wives a point of departure for insisting on the high view of the sanctity of the marriage bond which must have prevailed among the Philistines and in Egypt. Among those for whom polygamy and the marriage of near kin were lawful it was yet regarded as an act of 'unutterable wickedness' that a man should so far desecrate 'the sacred basis of family life as to take, however unwittingly,' as his wife 'a woman while yet her husband lived' (p. 11). Abraham and Isaac were convinced that among the Egyptians and Philistines the only possibility of taking as wife a woman already married would be found in the death of her husband; and the record of the facts shows that in this conviction they were right. This consideration leads Bishop Browne to suggest that the concession referred to in our Lord's words, 'Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives,'¹ was granted because of 'laxity among the Hebrews as compared with other nations' on the subject of the 'sanctity of marriage' (p. 15), and to point out 'what void places would be left in many a brilliant, many a squalid throng' in

¹ St. Matthew xix. 8.

London if Pharaoh and Abimelech should sweep 'through modern society, high and low, and' impress 'upon it with Oriental emphasis the penalties of their outraged principles of propriety' (p. 21).

The second sermon is on the subject of divorce. It comments upon the clearness with which our Lord taught the absolute indissolubility of Christian marriage, and shows the weakness of the foundation upon which the theory that He allowed divorce and re-marriage in certain cases rests. Referring to the received text of St. Matthew xix. 9, the Bishop says:

'So far as the teaching of Christ is concerned, I believe it is the simple truth that there is no single word of His which points this way except these words, whose genuineness is so very doubtful, and whose meaning, if they are genuine, has, as I believe, no reference to the sin of a woman in the marriage state. On that very feeble basis rests the whole religious sanction for the modern pile of public abomination which the courts are daily building higher and higher, till no one knows where it will all stop. You have heard this afternoon what was St. Paul's belief as to the teaching of our Lord: "If, while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress"' (p. 33).

Bishop Browne adds excellent illustrations from the history of Henry VIII. of England and Louis XII. of France of the fact that before the Reformation re-marriage was impossible, and that when divorce and subsequent marriage are mentioned as having taken place in that period, the meaning is not the dissolution of a valid marriage, but a declaration that a ceremony of marriage had been void from the first.

The conclusion of this sermon describes what the existing Divorce Act claims, if not from any particular clergyman, yet from the Church of England.

'We are asked to do that which I call without hesitation a desecration of the House of God. We are asked to do this. A man and a woman come to the Church to be married. Their story is well known; it is notorious; it is infamous. It is in the mind of each of them. It is in the mind of the celebrating priest. The service seems to be the ordinary marriage service; no change of even a word, no insertion, no omission. But, in fact, it is full of changes; there are terrible insertions; if there could be omissions the whole thing might be a little less horrible than it really is. To take one of the many possible cases, the priest in fact, in spiritual fact, addresses the man thus: "Thou hast before this time come on this errand to the House of God. Thou didst then profess thy desire to take a woman to be thy wedded wife, didst promise to forsake all other, and to keep thee only unto her as long as ye both should live. This woman here with thee now is not that woman; and that woman is still alive. Instead of forsaking all other women, thou didst forsake her; and this is the woman for whom thou didst forsake her. The courts of the land have branded thee an adulterer; and that which the world calls shame—foul shame—thou hast eagerly sought and hast obtained. And now thou comest here to make in the sight of God exactly the same profession, exactly the same promise; exactly the same, but that the woman is another woman, and thy wife still lives."

'And to the woman he says: "Thou art she for whom this man here present stands in God's House a man perjured to God. Alone he could

not break his oath: it was thou who didst break it with him. The courts of the land have branded thee an impure woman. And thou comest to the House of God to hear me tell thee of thy chaste conversation."

'That is the real address which all concerned know well is spoken by the facts of the case.

'And then the man's hand is once more taken by a priest of God, and once more a priest says over him the words now rendered so terrible in their menace: "Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." From the mockery, the sacrilege, of saying those words over man or woman, whether innocent or guilty, whom man already *hath* put asunder, Good Lord, deliver us!" (p. 51-3).

The first sermon contains an emphatic declaration of that at which Christians must really aim as distinct from the freedom to preserve the law of the Church which they must demand.

'We desire to bring it about that there shall not be the re-marriage of divorced persons, not because they cannot get married again, but because society has ceased from sinning against the marriage laws of God and man. It is a profound moral regeneration that is needed, not a mere convenient and decent change of a word or two in an Act of Parliament, which for us would remedy the present distress. And that moral regeneration can only be based on the teaching, on the Divinity, on the Incarnation of Christ' (pp. 22-3).

The practical steps, so far as legislation and State action are concerned, for which Churchmen should press are described in the preface.

'Put briefly, my desire is—(1) that no person whose marriage has been dissolved should have a legal claim to be married in our churches so long as the partner of the marriage lives; and (2) that an inquiry should be held into the working of the Divorce Act in its moral and social aspects' (p. 3).

We congratulate Bishop Browne on the courage which has led him to speak out so emphatically in defence of the law of Christ and the Christian Church, and on the historical knowledge and insight which have enabled him to avoid the fallacy of making a distinction between the 'innocent' and the 'guilty party' in respect of their capability of contracting a fresh marriage.

Essays and Addresses. An Attempt to Treat some Religious Questions in a Scientific Spirit. By the Ven. JAMES M. WILSON, M.A., Archdeacon of Manchester. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

THIS is a cheap edition of a volume published in 1887, when the author was head-master of Clifton College. It consists of lectures, addresses, papers read at Church Congresses, and essays written for literary or scientific societies, several of which had already been published elsewhere, but are now gathered together, because there is one spirit running through them all. However much one may differ from Archdeacon Wilson in Church principles and social questions, at least it must be said that an intense religious tone pervades every-

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thing that he writes, and he therefore attracts the reader in spite of any prejudices that he may have formed against the standpoint adopted. There are some points in which we find ourselves in full sympathy with the writer. For example, his address upon 'Morality in Public Schools, and its Relation to Religion' is worthy of attention, for he speaks with authority and experience upon such a matter; and we commend his remarks upon the danger of immorality among boys (pp. 35-37) to those who have anything to do with education. There is, too, in that address a strong insistence upon the need of inculcating a sense of *duty* in boys (p. 44); but while the writer maintains that religious influence is a necessary part of education, which ought not to be left to chance (p. 48), yet he seems to regard *duty* as if it were the whole of religion. We expect to find the headmaster of a public school condemning the practice of confession and direction (p. 32), but we do not understand his dislike of dogmatic teaching (p. 49). The third paper in the volume contains some useful suggestions for a course of higher religious instruction in connexion with the University Extension movement; and in the eighth paper, upon 'Christian Evidences,' which was read at the Wakefield Church Congress, 1886, the writer dwells upon the strength of the evidence for religion afforded by personal experience (p. 156), and advocates a mission to the educated, and suggests what the cathedral chapters might do for the diffusion of higher religious knowledge (p. 162). The lecture on 'Inspiration' (the fourth paper in the volume) has been published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and is thoroughly useful; we would make three quotations from it, that those who do not know the lecture may buy it and read it.

(1) 'The truth is that the belief in inspiration is not the portal by which you enter the temple: it is the atmosphere you breathe when you have entered' (p. 73). (2) 'Through them [the Jews] came the fundamental idea of the one God; the idea of sin—that deep mysterious truth which other nations never reached; of forgiveness; of righteousness; of holiness. Through them, too, came the idea of the equality of all men, the rights of the individual, and the teaching that duties are higher than rights; that self-sacrifice is above self-seeking. There is a want of spiritual teaching in the highest heathen writers: they do not speak with a voice which touches the soul; they educate intellect, but the spirit does not bow before them' (pp. 88-89). (3) 'For want of a better definition, however, we will call it at present an *illumination in all that concerns Religious Truth*' (pp. 92-3).

The Letter to a Bristol Artisan (No. V.) is likewise well worth reading; our only feeling of regret is that here and there the writer concedes too much: but the remarks upon the necessity of prayer (p. 128) are admirable; from them we cull one brilliant phrase, viz. 'Prayer is not begging: on the contrary, it is self-surrender, a giving up of all we hold most dear.'

We think the Archdeacon is at his best when presenting to the secularist the grounds of Christian belief. The paper on Miracles, delivered in St. Mary's, Nottingham, and intended to be an answer to Professor Huxley's objection to Lecture IV. ('Inspiration'), sug-

gests a new and thoughtful line of argument, which may not be wholly convincing, but is certainly suggestive. He starts from St. Paul's possession of miraculous gifts and powers, to which the First Epistle to the Corinthians, an undoubted writing of the Apostle, testifies as exercised by him, and shared in also by the Corinthian Church. He attributes these powers to 'an exalted spiritual condition' (p. 172), which wields a supernatural influence over other men; and he argues from St. Paul to Christ as having them in a still higher degree. He concedes, indeed, the possibility of the Gospel narrative containing some legendary matter (pp. 171, 181) (as to which we are not bound to agree with him), but he appeals to Christ's resurrection as in complete accord with His known spiritual character and supernatural endowments (p. 179), and asks if Christ's own character and spiritual powers do not lead to the inference that He is Divine. The whole argument is worth studying, and the paper is a valuable contribution to this branch of Christian Apologetics.

When we turn to the Archdeacon's views on 'Church Authority' (No. VII.), and 'Fundamental Church Principles' (No. XI.), we find ourselves compelled to differ considerably from his standpoint. The Archdeacon, apparently, does not regard the Church as a divinely constituted body in which the Holy Spirit guides men into all the truth (St. John xvi. 13), but only as an association of individuals in each of whom the Spirit works. Hence he denies to the Church the right to determine dogma as absolute truth, though he allows to her the right of imposing terms of membership (p. 150). We agree with him that she has not the authority to determine matters of learning or of fact (p. 149), but we cannot admit her inability to speak authoritatively upon questions of doctrine or morals (pp. 151, 153), because we believe that our Lord's commission to the Church to 'bind' and 'loose' in His name covers both doctrine and morals (St. Matthew xvi. 19, xviii. 18). And so in the second of the two papers, delivered before the Guild of St. Matthew at Oxford, 1885, we must object to the definition of the Church (given on p. 218) as insufficient; it might serve as a description, but it is not in any sense a definition. To call the Church 'a Divine, self-organising association' is a contradiction of terms, and the attempt to explain the expression is futile. If the Church is 'Divine' it can scarcely be 'self-organising,' because the 'Divine' character of the Church is dependent, if we can trust St. Paul, upon 'the unity of the Spirit' (Eph. iv. 4), and the Divine life contributed by His energy to every part of the body (Eph. iv. 16). The Archdeacon has little, if anything, to say of this unifying, life-giving power of the Spirit. He also denies that the *esse* of the Church depends upon the Apostolical succession (p. 220), but thoroughly believes in the *bene esse* of the Church through the preservation of the historic episcopate: he even approves of the existing divisions of Christendom (p. 228), and offers an excuse for hereditary Dissent (p. 229). After this we are prepared for a very flabby conception of the two Sacraments, for he has, apparently, no idea of them as the means of communicating to men the glorified life of Christ, but merely as qualifications for member-

ship of this 'Divine, self-organizing association' (cf. p. 231). And yet withal he speaks of himself as a staunch Churchman (p. 230), so that we wonder what he means, because our notion of Churchmanship is something very different from the views expressed above and in the following passages, viz. —

(1) 'But there exists no universal organisation for the Church; its unity consists in spirit alone, nor is there any necessary type of organisation' (p. 222).

(2) 'It might have been thought that a single association, under uniform organisation throughout the whole world, would have been best adapted for its great purpose of educating mankind in the spirit and faith of Christ; but it has not been God's will that it should be so; and it seems more reverent to inquire whether such diversities as we see of Greek and Latin Churches, of National Churches, of Reformed Churches, of Nonconformist Churches, are not carrying out, or may not carry out, the purposes of the Church of Christ more efficiently than any imagined unity of organisation would do' (p. 228).

(3) 'The essence of Church membership is the effort to live, and help others to live, in the spirit and faith of Christ' (p. 236).

We should like to know what the Guild of St. Matthew thought of this conception of the mystical body of Christ.

Phillips Brooks Year Book. Selections from the Writings of the Right Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D. By H. L. S. and L. H. S. (London: R. D. Dickinson, 1894).

We suppose that there are persons who find such compilations as this helpful to their religious life, but to our minds it is neither fair to the author whose utterances are chopped up into fragments, nor good for the reader whose attention cannot be held for more than a page at one time. In the Preface it is believed that 'the influence of' Dr. Phillips Brooks' 'marvellous personality' will not be lessened 'by this separating process,' and that 'the thoughts' will not lose 'in suggestiveness, in vividness, and in strength.' This is not our own experience in examining this book. Some of the extracts contribute nothing definite, nothing to be carried away, except a sense of powerful language and an inexact theology. The Bishop some years since gave his sanction to a volume of selections, and wrote a preface in which he commended such books for 'their suggestiveness.' We doubt whether he would approve of the present selections from his own works, for in our opinion the extracts do not do him justice as a preacher, for they are too brief, and one wants the whole context. The selections of verse or rhythmical prose (from Thomas à Kempis), the litanies (from J. M. Neale), or the ancient collects (from W. Bright), are often more helpful and suggestive than the extracts from the Bishop's works. The system pursued is to give a page to each day in the year, containing a text, a selection, and some sacred verse or prayer, and we have discovered that there is intended to be an undercurrent of Church teaching according to the calendar. It is clear that this volume was compiled with a view to the year 1883, because in that year Easter Day occurred on March 25 (Lady Day), and, accordingly, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, the Holy Week,

and Good Friday, Ascension Day, Whitsunday, and Trinity Sunday fall into their proper places in the selections. This did well enough for that year, but for those who are using it in 1896 it would be embarrassing to read the Easter portion in the middle of Passion Week. The truth is, if we are to have these volumes of selections arranged for every day's reading, the compilers must take care to make them suitable for any year, and the best plan is to follow the Church calendar, so that the overplus, if any, may be omitted. There has been some attempt to mark the Holy days and Saints' days, though without naming them, but it has not been done consistently. May 1, June 11 and 24, August 24, September 21 and 29, and December 21 have been entirely overlooked, whereas on October 18 and 28 and November 1 we have some specially striking references. The Epiphany is barely mentioned, but the Transfiguration is made much of. In the selection for March 19 (Monday before Easter) the preacher was so carried away with the thought of Jerusalem being the centre and goal of our Lord's life and ministry that he was betrayed into saying, 'The angels sang about Jerusalem when the shepherds heard them' (p. 79). No explanation is given, so that we are forced to imagine either that he forgot the birthplace of Christ or that he used 'Jerusalem' in a mystical sense; the context, however, suggests that the earthly city was intended. We will conclude by giving one extract as a specimen of Dr. Phillips Brooks's teaching: let us take that for the Transfiguration (p. 219).

"*We were eye-witnesses of His majesty.*"¹

'In many respects this story [of the Transfiguration] belongs beside the story of the Temptation. The two mountains are the complements of one another. As the Temptation was the typical utterance of the perplexed conditions of human living, so the Transfiguration was the irrepressible utterance of the essential glory of human nature filled with divinity, reclaimed and openly asserted to be the Son of God. And in the Transfiguration, as in the Temptation, the body has its share. Not merely does the soul enjoy sublime converse with God and with the past. A sweet and awful gladness shines out from the face and hands, and even pierces from the hidden limbs through the coarse garments which shine "white as the light." I do not know the meaning of it all, but I know that what came to the spiritual came in some echo to the physical, and the body shared the gladness of the soul.'²

We wonder what the ordinary Christian would make out of this. We believe that, after reading the extract, he would say to himself, 'I do not know the meaning of it all,' because the Bishop's comment is more difficult to grasp than the Gospel story. He would certainly find relief if he turned to the beautiful collect from the American Prayer Book on the same page, though even that is capable of improvement.

'O God, who on the mount didst reveal to chosen witnesses Thine only-begotten Son wonderfully transfigured, in raiment white and glittering' (*sic*) ['glistering' is the Bible word, and in the Book Annexed of 1883]: 'Mercifully grant that we, being delivered from the disquietude of

¹ 2 Pet. i. 16.

² 'Influence,' p. 160.

this world, may be permitted to behold the King in His beauty, who with Thee, O Father, and Thee, O Holy Ghost, liveth and reigneth, one God, world without end. Amen.'

English Churchmen may well regret that they have no authorized observance of this most beautiful festival, such as their brethren in America have provided.

A Memoir of Mother Francis Raphael, O.S.D. Edited by the Rev. Father BERTRAND WILBERFORCE, O.P. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895.)

THE Memoir of Augusta Theodosia Drane, to use her secular name, occupies only a third part of this volume (pp. xiii-clxix); the remainder is made up of 'Notes for Meditation' (pp. 1-170), and extracts from letters, private and official (pp. 171-335), to which is subjoined a list of the writings of Miss Drane, with dates. The general impression given by the book is that Mother Francis Raphael had a wonderfully beautiful mind, was intensely devout, and wholly given to her religious duties; but there is a singular absence of incident which would interest the casual reader, and there is a lack of animation throughout. The subjectivity of the conventual life, its constant routine, its suppression of the individual will, its limited sphere for the exercise of character, tend to make the book somewhat dull, and we have not found anything particularly striking in the Meditations. They are very devout and very practical, but they are not out of the common; and the correspondence contains a great deal that cannot interest those who are outside the convent, and where it deals with commemorations which are, to say the least, un-English—e.g. the Immaculate Conception, the Holy Rosary, and the Assumption—it is scarcely likely that English Church people will find much to gratify their tastes. At the same time it must be allowed that the Mother has many beautiful things to say to her sisters which are not distinctively Romanist in doctrine, and therefore we can understand that in many of our religious houses this volume will find grateful readers.

But a serious question confronts us as we read the Memoir, viz. how far it is morally permissible to publish after death things which have been written for a private purpose only. The following extract from the editor's preface bears upon it, in our opinion, its own condemnation:

'In 1876 an intimate friend of many years' standing was seriously ill. . . . Mother Francis Raphael most kindly wrote off, in her rapid way, an account of her life up to the time that she became a religious, in a private note-book, putting as a title-page: "Memories, for the sole benefit of a sick friend. 1876." No one, except the friend for whom these Memories were written, ever saw a page of this book, or even knew it existed, till after Mother Francis Raphael's death; and it was with considerable difficulty that I could overcome her natural reluctance to allow me to employ it for this Memoir. It is quite certain that, if the possibility of the publication of any part of it had presented itself to the mind of Mother Francis Raphael, the whole would have been committed to the flames before her death' (pp. v, vi).

We can only suppose that the editor has argued himself into believing that the end justifies the means. To our minds such treatment of the private writings of the dead is unjustifiable.

Another question raised by this book is one that English Churchmen must often ask themselves, viz. Why should secession to the Church of Rome from the Anglican Communion make the perverts so ready to cast stones at the Church in which they were originally baptized? One would have thought that in after years they would feel gently disposed towards that teaching which acted, so to speak, as a ladder towards their new sphere; but it is not so, and Mother Francis Raphael is no exception to the rule, as the following passages will show:

'Keble, I think, was an unsatisfactory director. He was kind, amiable, and his own humble, pious character made itself felt in his letters and personal intercourse. But he never laid hands on the soul, or even attempted it, and his directions were always in the way of suggestions' (p. xlix).

After making her first confession to Dr. Pusey in 1849 she was not satisfied, and some years later she wrote:

'I, certainly, am not one to make light of such an act, unsacramental though it be, invalid its absolution, unmethodical its preparation, and irregular its administration.' 'When it was over, I was as unsatisfied on the respective claims of Rome and England as before; I had as much and as little faith in the English Sacraments' (pp. liv, lv).

Then later she says:

'I felt the dreadful emptiness of Anglicanism as a moral, no less than as a dogmatic teacher. I almost felt it more. Keble's style of direction was so extremely "washy," and yet Keble was Keble. The only books that gave me any help were Pusey's adaptations from Roman books' (p. lix).

In 1850 she wrote a pamphlet of thirty-three pages on *The Morality of Tractarianism: a Letter from one of the People to one of the Clergy* (p. lxi). After Mr. Maskell's secession, upon the result of the Gorham controversy, Miss Drane was received into the Roman Communion, and as a novice in the Dominican convent she read many Romanist books, with the result that 'it got into me a good deal of solid instruction, and sobered me, taking the Puseyism out of me.' 'I have been constantly amazed at the discovery of how profound was my ignorance of the real Christian verities' (p. lxix). Now anyone who will read this Memoir will reflect that some of the perversions to Romanism at that time seem to have occurred for little or no reason. Miss Drane had never been a definite Churchwoman, and, of course, the first enthusiasm of Catholic teaching made her feel that she must have everything at once; she was never satisfied, and never knew what she really wanted.¹ Anglican methods were too severe for her, because they required her to act upon her own responsibility, whereas in the Roman Communion she learned more and more to have no will of her own, but to live under a hard and fast set of rules.

¹ Comp. Dean Burgon's *Letters from Rome*, xxiv.

We have found only two amusing incidents in the volume, viz. :

(1) 'One day a novice had been guilty of some little delinquency which had roused the indignation of both of us, and I went to Mother Imelda to state my case, and to represent the necessity of the fault being noticed. "I know, I know," she said; "I am going to speak about it; but I can't feel angry enough just yet."—"You can't feel angry enough," I replied in surprise: "what do you mean, and what are you going to do to get angry?"—"I shall make my meditation about it this evening," was her reply, "and then I shall be able to speak."—"Well, this is extraordinary!" I exclaimed; "you have to say your prayers to be angry, and I have to say mine to keep my temper"' (p. lxxx).

(2) The verses on St. Paula (pp. xciv-xcvii) are delightful, written in January 1892, 'for the feast day of the Prioress, whose name was Paula.' We will quote three stanzas:

'But sometimes Jerome weary grew,
The pen dropped from his fingers,
Then Paula to herself would say—
"Somehow that writing lingers."

'Then in her head so sweet she'd pop,
"Dear father, if it please you,
We've stopped at chapter so-and-so—
I hardly like to tease you."

The last stanza runs:

'And though no Jerome sure am I
I've got, good luck befall her!
The thing that Jerome valued most—
I've got—a Mother Paula.'

Bishop Ullathorne's estimate of the Mother Provincial shows her to have been a woman of varied talents and great capacities: 'One of those many-sided characters who can write a book, draw a picture, rule an Order, guide other souls, superintend a building, lay out grounds, or give wise and practical advice with equal facility and success' (p. cxxviii). It seems to us a pity that such a woman should have felt herself constrained to live within the walls of a convent, when she might have done so much for society at large.

The Religions of India. By EDWARD WASHBURN HOPKINS, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology in Bryn Mawr College. (Boston, U.S.A., and London: Ginn and Co., 1895.)
Vedic India as embodied principally in the Rig Veda. By ZÉNAÏDE A. RAGOZIN. (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1895.)

INDIA is immensely attractive both to the politician and to the theologian, and in the vastness of its problems it is continually claiming an increase of attention. The British politician reflects, in the fine simile of the late Lord Randolph Churchill, that our domination in India 'is a thin coat of oil on the surface, which preserves the calm of an ocean of humanity, and controls its storms.'¹

¹ Quoted in *The Spectator*, November 3, 1888, p. 1514.

The theologian, if he recognizes the supreme authority of the command, 'Go, teach all nations' as imposing upon the Catholic Church missionary duties towards all the peoples of India, is also ready to admit that our political relations with India involve English Churchmen in a peculiar responsibility towards it. The great danger in study and in work is that we should forget the extent of the materials and the populations, the varieties and range of the subject, and should fall into the error, often committed by those who pay a short visit to India, or who read one absorbing book upon it, of applying the circumstances of part of that region to the whole.

The two books which we now have beside us will help to guard us from such an erroneous impression, especially the volume of Professor Hopkins in the series of Handbooks on the history of religion, which takes, as its title *The Religions of India* indicates, a wider range than M. Ragozin's *Vedic India* in the series of the 'Story of the Nations.' Professor Hopkins gives a map of ancient India after Keiper as a frontispiece, but does not insert any further pictorial illustrations. In an introductory chapter he discusses the methods of interpretation which have been applied to the Rig Veda, and explains his own point of view—to set himself as far as possible in the mental sphere of the Vedic seers, to bear in mind that the Rig Veda is a collection not at all made under the same circumstances or at the same time, to regard its literary quality, and to beware of explaining its theology by the later materials of Brahminism (pp. 22, 23). The next chapter is also of the nature of an introduction upon the people and the land, and then when Professor Hopkins gets well started upon his subject he gives us an interesting account of the beliefs and religious notions of the Rig Veda and the Atharva Veda, the two Vedic collections which form the first period of Hindu religion. If the reader desires to go further into details on the subject of the Rig Veda he may turn to M. Ragozin's volume and read the chapters on the older gods (p. 131), the sun and dawn myth (p. 191), the story-myths (p. 237), the early history and culture which are implied in the collection (pp. 274, 349), and its teaching on sacrifice, its cosmogony, and its philosophy (pp. 382, 414). He will also read with interest the pages upon the story of the Flood in India (pp. 335-348). But we must warn the theologian that in these two books he will have the materials ready to his hand without the masterly assortment of them and their comparison with the inspired poetry of the Psalms which are to be found in Dean Church's two choice lectures on the Vedas and the Psalms.¹ M. Ragozin has added many curious illustrations to his work, and his coloured frontispiece depicts the heathen conception of two important truths—that God watches over mundane affairs, and that man is made in God's image, distorted it may be into queer and ugly forms, but nevertheless there. A list of principal works consulted, at the close of the volume, serves as a guide for further research (p. 441). We notice that this is the forty-first volume of Mr. Fisher Unwin's series,

¹ Published, under the title of 'The Sacred Poetry of Early Religions,' in *The Gifts of Civilization*, pp. 345-441.

and it is quite equal to the three other volumes on Chaldea, Assyria, and Media, which have formed M. Ragozin's previous contributions. Professor Hopkins, who has treated the Vedic collections more concisely, proceeds further to consider Brahminism—the rituals called Brahmana, the Upanishads, and the Yajur Veda (pp. 176, 216). He devotes a chapter to 'the popular Brahmanic faith,' and gives more attention than has hitherto been given to the formal religion of Brahminism, as laid down for popular use and instruction in the law-books (p. 242). Jainism and Buddhism, as the two chief heresies, appropriately follow this chapter (pp. 280, 298). With the term Hinduism Professor Hopkins does not profess himself to be satisfied, but he modestly adopts it for the two next comprehensive chapters because he feels that 'a mere manual should not take the initiative in coining titles' (p. 24). The reader will gain from them a chronological view of the religious development exhibited in the literature. Chapters on modern Hindu sects and the religions of the hill-men follow logically and historically after the nobler religions, and have a value of their own in relation to some problems of Civism and the earliest period of the Aryans. There are many interesting little points which the reader will note for comparison with the Bible, such as the practice of levirate marriage (p. 273, note), the worship of snakes and trees¹ (p. 539), and the history of the Hindu trinity (p. 457). For the lover of folk-lore there are even more abundant supplies of materials.

A Short Study of Ethics. By CHARLES F. D'ARCY, B.D. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895.)

ETHICS are here regarded from a philosophical standpoint, and an attempt is made to give a concise account both of the metaphysical basis and of the ethical superstructure. Mr. D'Arcy presents the same general view as Professor Dewey in *Outlines of a Critical Theory of Ethics*, Mr. Muirhead in *Elements of Ethics*, and Mr. Mackenzie in his *Manual of Ethics*. The special feature of the present 'Study' is that Mr. D'Arcy supplies a basis for the reader who has not studied Professor Green's *Prolegomena to Ethics* for himself. Although he does not feel able to accept in its entirety the Hegelian conception of the spiritual principle as presented in that great work, Mr. D'Arcy finds it impossible to express adequately the greatness of the debt which he owes to its teaching. He has himself produced a compact and thoughtful book on the science of conduct which will, we are persuaded, win a place for itself in the movement of ethical thought which is now showing such vigorous signs of life among educated people. Of the three parts into which the work is divided, the first and third are short discussions on the philosophical basis of ethics, and on the various systems of intuitionism, hedonism, utilitarianism, evolutionary ethics, and the formal ethics of Kant.

¹ Professor Hopkins refers to Fergusson's standard work on *Tree and Serpent Worship* as one 'which abounds in interesting facts and dangerously captivating fancies.' A reference may be added to *The Church Quarterly Review*, No. 82, p. 547.

The second part, which contains the bulk of the work, is occupied with Mr. D'Arcy's own outline of ethical theory. Although the subject is not even professedly treated from a theological point of view, each chapter conducts the reader to the confines of theology, and leaves him there with the best food for reflexion. It is this mode of treatment which prompts us to recommend the treatise to the careful attention of the clergy. This is the age of a largely increased study of ethics, due chiefly, perhaps, so far as Oxford is concerned, to the teaching of Professor Green and the continued insistence of Professor King, the present Bishop of Lincoln, upon its importance for candidates for Holy Orders. This revived interest has led to the publication of many ethical books, in some of which theology is not only ignored, but so ignored as to suggest that it is not worth attention. When, therefore, the study of ethics is to be encouraged and text-books are to be recommended, it is extremely important to urge that ethics shall be studied in relation to the dogmatic truths out of which all morals spring. It is even necessary to add the caution that much moral beauty which is said to spring from no Christian root—though those who say this do not explain from what other root it could spring—is really due to unconscious Christian influence, and is a blossom which derives its life and support from some unseen, unsuspected dogmatic stem. Young theological students must be warned that, in spite of apparent, though only apparent, exceptions, it is a universal truth that supernatural grace is necessary for the production of virtues which can claim to resemble the moral beauty which shines round the Incarnate life. It is quite in keeping with such cautions as these to refer to Mr. D'Arcy's book, as may be seen by consulting his remarks on the Divine image in man (p. 52), the proofs of the being of God (p. 60), duty (p. 126), the religious aspect of virtue (p. 178), the chapters on conscience¹ (pp. 148, 215), and a note on the immense ethical value of Christianity, in which Mr. D'Arcy says that Christianity 'in the Person of its great Founder . . . brought the ideal character into close relationship with human life. To Christians their Master is not a mere moral teacher. He is the incarnation of the Ideal. Hence the enormous moral influence of the short story of His life' (p. 179). That line of thought, balanced by teaching on the atoning sacrifice of the Cross as removing the incubus of past sin, and on the Sacraments as supplying Divine power for the needs of the future, has been fruitfully followed by many Christian teachers, and can never be too clearly insisted upon.

¹ Happy is the reader who recalls, when the subject of Conscience is mentioned, the subtle insight of the section which draws out its prerogatives and supreme authority in Newman's *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, § 5, and Wordsworth's characteristic lines on it as 'God's most intimate presence in the soul' in *The Excursion*, bk. iv.

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A Modern Pilgrim in Jerusalem. By JOHN ROOKER, M.A., Vicar of Coldharbour, Surrey. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1895.)

It is a great pity that persons who visit Palestine, even for ten days, as our author did, should feel bound to write about it for the public. There are so many books worth reading upon this subject which are based upon a thorough knowledge of the Bible and the traditions of the country, that a new volume, however modest in its pretensions, is sure to meet with adverse criticism, especially if it has been written after a hasty visit and with strong prejudice against the religions of the people. Mr. Rooker had the good fortune to find a friend who paid his expenses, and he was able to rush about Jerusalem and the neighbourhood with a light heart. But as a clergyman we should have thought that the most solemn time of the Christian year would have made him more anxious to observe the rules of the Church than he evidently was. He arrived in the Holy City on Palm Sunday, and he remained there or thereabouts until the Tuesday in Easter week, and during that time he appears to have attended divine worship once only in a church. This was on Maundy Thursday, when he went straight from the hotel dinner to a celebration of the Lord's Supper, and thence to Gethsemane; and on Good Friday he would not go to church, but took a horse and rode to Olivet, and thence to 'the Skull Hill'; afterwards he visited the Jews' wailing-place, and at night attended the Passover in a rabbi's house; while on Easter Day he and his party made an expedition to the Dead Sea and the Jordan valley from Jericho, after holding a private Communion service in the reading-room of the hotel, without any of those decencies of worship which he might have had in the English church at Jerusalem. We feel sure that Mr. Rooker has often regretted this part of his ten days' tour in Palestine. Besides this the account of the visit is marred, in our opinion, (1) by the sceptical spirit in which everything is viewed; e.g. 'I don't vouch for the authenticity of this monument or any other in Jerusalem' (p. 32); 'That is one disappointing experience in Jerusalem—so many places are questioned. That delightful old American lady saw everything and believed everything. Her dragoman gave her the traditional view. She accepted it, and was perfectly happy. Alas! I lacked faith' (p. 33; cp. p. 81). So when he visits 'Solomon's Stables' he remarks, 'As for Solomon, I don't know' (p. 55). This kind of spirit is everywhere: he cannot enjoy anything thoroughly for fear that he is being taken in. The old lady had much the best of it. (2) The book exhibits unnecessary prejudice towards Latin or Eastern Christians and Mahomedans (pp. 35, 63-4, 75). Here is a specimen: 'As to *Christian* sites, don't let us talk of them' (p. 34). (3) There is a pietistic tone about the descriptions, which is very much out of keeping with the writer's own attitude towards the Church's observance of Holy Week. Sometimes he makes an attempt to describe in modern language the most sacred scenes which are sufficiently vivid and exact in the Bible narrative, e.g. Gethsemane (pp. 74-7), or the road to Calvary (pp. 84-5); at other times texts are used as headings of chapters, or as

descriptions of the travellers' own doings, which savour of irreverence. (4) There is a great deal said about meals and eating, which sounds out of place in sacred localities (cp. pp. 6-7, 19, 20, 67). And (5), there are several misprints, e.g. 'Appollinaris' (p. 6), 'bomide' (p. 13), 'get' for 'got' (p. 46), &c. The one sight which made a deep impression on Mr. Rooker was the marvellous colouring of the hills of Moab (pp. 40, 41, 61, 62, 66); the two experiences which gave him most pleasure were the treading of the Temple courts (ch. vi.) and bathing in the Dead Sea.

Now, was it worth while to write a book of this kind, which tells us nothing new, which does not make us realize the places, and which does not keep up our interest? We think not. And we will ask one other question, because Mr. Rooker has made a great point of it (pp. 4, 5), viz. Is it of such great advantage to a clergyman to have visited the Holy Land? It depends, of course, to some extent upon his previous training and his own disposition, but our own experience has been that the clergy who have been in Palestine often weary their congregations by telling them about localities and scenes, while they keep back the doctrinal and spiritual teaching which the Bible was given them to supply. In sermons we want more about Christ Himself, and less about places and customs and how things looked.

Prayer and Practice: Sixty-one Plain Sermons on the Collects for all the Sundays and the chief Holy Days of the Christian Year. By the Rev. H. J. WILMOT-BUXTON, M.A. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1894.)

MR. WILMOT-BUXTON has published so many volumes of sermons and addresses of all kinds that he cannot expect us to say anything new of the present volume. Our experience is always the same. There is a wonderful vigour, a great power of illustration, a strong grasp of Church doctrine, and a homely manner in everything that he writes; but we must protest against the introduction of so many anecdotes and the absence of any real attempt to expound Holy Scripture. There is such a restlessness in the preacher—due, as we suppose, to his conducting parochial missions—that many congregations would be apt to become impatient, and remember the stories while they forgot the teaching illustrated by them. To take an example from the present volume, the sermon for Christmas Day is upon God's *gift* of His only begotten Son, and, before we have got through a page and a half, we have a story of a man of wealth who attempted to live as a labourer and found it a failure; in the next paragraph we have a story of Alexander the Great; then we go back for a while to the Christmas teaching, and there comes another paragraph about the way in which woman was regarded before Christ came, taking us away into Greece, Egypt, China, and South Africa; and in another page we reach the end. The proportion of illustration to Christmas teaching is one-third of the whole. In this sermon we would remark that to speak of the Incarnation as 'a second birth through the flesh' (p. 33) is to use a very loose expression, for it implies that the Divine Generation of the Son was an act in time

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instead of an eternal fact. The carelessness of expression arose out of an attempt to be too explicit in a parallel between our Lord and ourselves. Occasionally, we are glad to say, the preacher becomes more subdued and quiet, and then the teaching gains in force. Of this kind we would notice the following sermons, viz. 'Hearts Lifted Up' (Ascension), 'The Knowledge of God' (Trinity Sunday), 'The Perfect Pattern' (Second Sunday after Easter), 'Honourable Service' and 'Heavenly Washing' (Sundays after Trinity); they are quite a relief from the general course of preaching and are admirable for their purpose. We do not know to what kind of congregation Mr. Wilmot-Buxton ministers, but it strikes us that he presumes in his hearers a very wide acquaintance with the history of the world; and we wonder whether the North Devon folk always appreciate the point of the illustrations. However, we have no doubt that his sermons are listened to with great attention, because they are out of the common. For our own part we prefer something which instructs to that which rouses or tickles the ears of a congregation. We can do without a series of anecdotes.

Harvard College by an Oxonian. By GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. (New York and London: Macmillan and Co., 1894.)

We conclude that this volume was written chiefly for American readers, especially for the past and present members of Harvard College, because the book is dedicated to the College librarian, and the illustrations embrace all the most recent additions to the College buildings and grounds, and because it was printed and published in America. We consider the volume a very graceful compliment on the part of an Oxford scholar, who has made a name by his literary work, after receiving the hospitality of Cambridge, Massachusetts. Dr. Birkbeck Hill has given us a very readable history of Harvard College, but perhaps it is unnecessarily prolix. English readers would have been satisfied, we think, with 150 pages instead of 330, because Harvard is known to them chiefly by the athletic competitions which have been held with the undergraduates of Oxford and Cambridge; and it would have been more interesting to them to read something about the respective merits of Yale and Harvard and other such institutions, because Englishmen have very little knowledge of American college life. The general reader will find plenty to amuse him, written in a pleasant and chatty style for the most part, though towards the end of the volume the chapters become dull and heavy. But to those who understand University life in Oxford it will seem bad taste for a member of Johnson's College (Pembroke) to speak disparagingly of certain professors of his own University, living or dead, as he has done (p. 214). Indeed, the frequent comparisons between the habits of Oxford and the American College will appear very trivial, if not to say ill-judged, because they look like an attempt to glorify Harvard at the expense of Oxford. By Dr. Birkbeck Hill's own showing there could not be anything more different and less capable of being compared than the life of the American and English student, and, therefore, to force a

comparison between them either leads to exaggeration or displays ignorance. The author has a very imperfect knowledge of Oxford life in the present. He has furbished up old recollections of his own undergraduate life some forty years ago, and has got hold of a few stories during his more recent residence in the city; but he does not adequately represent Oxford as it is; and if Harvard men are led to think the English University an inferior place, both in manners and in opportunities of learning, they must be told that the author has been led to represent their own life in too favourable a light (pp. 214, 219-21, 229, 241-7, 314 may serve as illustrations, though the whole volume is full of these comparisons).

There are, however, some points in the book which are well worthy of attention. We can recommend chap. iii. as dealing with the religion of the College, which was Unitarian till lately (p. 224); chap. viii. as treating of the athletics, but it is to be hoped for the peace and quiet of Oxford Colleges that undergraduates will not learn the Harvard yell (p. 132); chap. xi. as suggestive in the matter of poor students (pp. 195, 206-7), though the author does not know how many poor men at Oxford are being helped by the Colleges through their University career; and chap. xiii. as giving a picture, dismal enough certainly, of the state of education in American secondary schools, which do 'fitting' for the Colleges (pp. 236-40).

Would it not be possible for Dr. Birkbeck Hill to write for the benefit of English readers a brief account of all the leading colleges in the United States, so that they might compare one with another, and be able to judge of them by their learning as well as by their athletic prowess?

A Lady of England. The Life and Letters of Charlotte Maria Tucker.

By AGNES GIBERNE. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1895.)

'A LADY OF ENGLAND' is better known by the initials of the four words, 'A. L. O. E.,' under which *sobriquet* she wrote a vast number of tales for the young, which were once, and perhaps are still, very popular. Her real name was Charlotte Maria Tucker, and the record of her life, told very brightly and pleasantly by Mrs. or Miss Agnes Giberne, is the record of a very noble and attractive life, which no one can study without both pleasure and profit. But it is just because we feel this so strongly that we venture to protest as strongly against the number of pages wasted before we come to the really interesting part of the book. The first hundred pages should be cut down to about five, or ten at the most; otherwise there is great fear lest the impatient reader will toss it aside, judging from its commencement that it is a trivial book, not worth reading through. The real interest begins when 'A. L. O. E.' begins to publish, and increases tenfold when we enter upon her life in India, when it is fully sustained, up to the last page. Let us first give our reasons for pressing this ruthless excision of all the early part. The writer, then, should remember that an interest in her subject has to be created, and cannot be counted upon as already existing. Children do not, though grown up people may, care to know anything about the authors who provide them with

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literature. The books are there, and that is enough for them. It does not, therefore, at all follow that because people who are now grown up were interested in their youth in 'A. L. O. E.'s' books, they were at all interested in the author. But Miss Giberne enters as minutely into the details of the life of Miss Tucker when she was yet an obscurity, and not only of Miss Tucker but of her father and her grandfather, as if she were writing about Charlotte Brontë or George Eliot, or any other of the female Immortals. She gives lengthy accounts of the happy home at No. 3 Portland Place—a pleasant domestic picture, but one in which the general public can hardly be expected to be vitally interested, seeing that there are hundreds of such happy homes in England. The most trivial letters, written before 'A. L. O. E.' had learnt the art of composition, are quoted at great length; and, worse still, long extracts are given from feeble dramas which the heroine wrote in her girlhood, but, of course, never published. In fact, to tell the truth, the only thing that interested us in the least, in the first six letters, was a very short but highly characteristic letter from the Duke of Wellington, which illustrated once more that great man's tender love for children. We were, indeed, sorely tempted to dismiss the book with one of those contemptuous remarks which reviewers have a pleasant way of making; but we resisted the temptation, and virtue was, as usual, its own reward. The interest begins when Miss Tucker makes her first overtures with delightful *naïveté* to that enemy of young authors, the publisher. In November 1851 she sent *The Claremont Tales*, without any name or address, to Messrs. Chambers. Messrs. Chambers passed them on to Gall and Inglis, and Gall and Inglis brought them out—all the more readily, perhaps, because there was no unpleasant question of 'half-profits,' 'royalties,' or 'lump sums' to be previously discussed. Then the unknown one offered—again gratuitously—poems as well as tales to Messrs. Gall and Inglis; and finally she disclosed her identity, informing the same firm that 'Miss Charlotte Maria Tucker has written an epic poem on the eventful life of St. Paul.' But publishers must draw the line somewhere, and Gall and Inglis appear to have drawn it at the epic poem; for, so far as we know, the public have never been blessed with the sight of it. For the next fifteen or twenty years, 'A. L. O. E.,' descending from her epic pedestal, and, indeed, no longer courting her poetic muse at all, was content with the humbler ambition of writing books for children, to which, we venture to think, her biographer has done scant justice, calling them 'very didactic' and 'little sermons.' But so long as the child has the privilege of skipping, it finds this no hindrance; and the stories appear to us interesting and well-written. The greatest attraction of the biography begins with 'Part II.—Life in India, 1875–1893,' and we would advise the reader to skim lightly over 'Part I.—English Life, 1821–1875,' particularly the first six chapters of it. Miss Tucker had an hereditary interest in India. Her father, whom she idolized, had been an Indian civilian and then Chairman of the East India Company; her great-uncle had been one of the government secretaries in Calcutta; her brother Robert, older than herself,

was a judge in India, who bravely refused to fly during the Indian Mutiny, and was murderously shot dead by the Mussulmans; other brothers were also 'in hourly danger' during the Mutiny; and the eldest of all, Henry Carr Tucker, nobly 'devoted himself to missionary work in India, as a Christian revenge for the death of his brother' (p. 111), and became the first Honorary Secretary of the Christian Literature Society. Courage and disinterestedness seem to have been characteristic of all the Tucker family, and eminently so of that member of it with whom we are specially concerned. In 1875, at the mature age of fifty-four, she made, and carried out, the noble determination to devote the rest of her days to the work of a Christian missionary in India, putting herself voluntarily under the authority of the Zenana Society, but taking no pay whatever. She began at once 'to orientalize her mind.' Having put her hand to the plough, she never looked back; she never went home on furlough; she never took more than a month's holiday; she was at her post in all weathers; she set herself doggedly to learn the Hindustani and the Panjabi languages—an herculean task for an elderly lady; she chose as her life-long home 'a very fortress of Muhammadanism and heathenism' (p. 241), going, in December 1876, from Amritsar to 'the last stage of her earthly career,' Battala, which seems to have been a sort of Indian Nazareth, people asking in effect, 'Can there any good thing come out of Battala?' She read the whole of the Koran in English that she might be able to say to Muhammadans, 'I have read your Koran right through.' She had, no doubt, the constitutional courage of her family, but she made it a matter of principle as well as habit, saying that 'a missionary should in any case have nothing to do with fear' (p. 294). She worked on steadily and persistently in the Zenanas, though she made few converts; but she knew that her mission was 'to plough up the fallow-ground' and make it ready to receive the seed, not to reap, scarcely even to sow; and to remind her of this she called the school, founded chiefly at her own expense, for non-Christian boys, the 'Plough School' (some well-meaning Philistines, several years later, tried to persuade her to change the name, saying it reminded them of the sign of a public-house!). She exercised her gift of writing books for children more diligently and perhaps more effectively in India than she had done in England. She found that in India the smallest and cheapest books went off best; 'so I resolved,' she says, 'to write one pie [less than a farthing] books, and thousands are sold' (p. 454). Her biographer thinks that her tales for India were the most important part of her missionary work. Miss Tucker was a strict Churchwoman of the Evangelical type; but we trust that no difference in Church views will prevent either ourselves or our readers from doing justice to her splendid Christian character. It is curious to notice how her contact with real, practical work in India tended to raise her Churchmanship. When her diocesan, the saintly Bishop French, for whom she had an enthusiastic and well-deserved regard, died, she was a little alarmed on hearing that he was to be succeeded by a High Churchman; but she soon learned to esteem Bishop Matthews almost as highly as she

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had esteemed his predecessor. She was at first inclined to welcome the work of the Salvation Army in India; but when she became better acquainted with its operations she changed her opinion, being shocked beyond measure on finding that the Salvationists made light of the Sacrament of Baptism as the only door by which native converts could be admitted into the Christian Church. Again, her Evangelicalism must have been a little modified when she wrote in 1883: 'We must have a good sized cross, gilt, to glitter in the sun, on the top of all. . . . The cross is our banner, the Sign of our Faith in the Son of God, rejected by Muhammadan and Hindu. It should crown—and sparkle on, too—every religious edifice in the land' (p. 311). Again, she had none of the narrowness of some Evangelicals. She not only loved to study Shakespeare herself, but had a high opinion of the value of such study in educating the Indian mind (p. 377); and she acted up to that opinion in her own instructions. She took the greatest interest in her boys' games, and was delighted when they beat the boys of the Government school (where no religious instruction was given) in a cricket-match; and to the very last she retained her ardent admiration of the Duke of Wellington, who can scarcely be reckoned as an Evangelical. Some of her sayings are very pithy and to the point. Take this for instance: 'The Punjab is a glorious field [for missionary work of the right kind]. It is a place where the one talent may become ten' (p. 214); or this: 'I think what is wanted out here is—Missionaries' graves. Not the graves of young Missionaries who have died here, but the graves of old Missionaries, who have given their whole lives for their people' (p. 496). Finally, who can read her poetical *Rules and Regulations* for female Missionaries, beginning

The Mission Miss Sahibas must never complain,
The Mission Miss Sahibas must temper restrain,

without feeling that they are more touching than better poetry? We trust we have said enough to awaken in our readers an interest in this most fascinating and Christ-like character, and to make them anxious to read Miss Giberne's story.

Letters and Verses of Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., between the years 1829 and 1881. Edited by ROWLAND E. PROTHERO, M.A.
Author of *The Life and Letters of Dean Stanley*. (London: John Murray, 1895.)

It is not surprising that the very cordial reception so deservedly given to Mr. Prothero's *Life and Letters of Dean Stanley* should have led his accomplished biographer to send forth this further volume of *Letters and Verses*, selected from the abundant material which lay still unused at his disposal. The result fully justifies the publication of this additional instalment and triumphantly surmounts the risk inevitably incurred in putting forth a sequel to a successful book. Not that the *Letters and Verses* equal in variety and breadth the high standard of interest in the formal biography, and the blame for this must be ascribed partly to Mr. Prothero's vivid pictures of Dean

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Stanley, which placed his subject too clearly before us to admit of much further elucidation, and partly to the exclusion from the present volume of those theological questions which constitute so large an element in Dean Stanley's *Life*. Yet we are persuaded that no one will lay down the *Letters and Verses*—which we have read with sustained interest from end to end—without increased admiration for their highly gifted author. It would be difficult to find a more charming example of the 'plain living and high thinking' which some would fain persuade us is rapidly dying out. Throughout the volume before us there is little to recall the regrettable incidents in Stanley's career, and we are left to the unqualified enjoyment of his great powers of description, and of his unconscious revelation of his own pure and loving nature.

Before passing on to speak of the *Letters and Verses* themselves, a word must be said about the fashion in which Mr. Prothero presents them to his readers, and of this we cannot speak too highly. To edit the private correspondence of one who filled so prominent a position as Stanley is a task of exceptional delicacy, and too often irremediable pain and mischief have been caused by want of care and tact in publishing confidential utterances and judgments not seldom too hastily formed. In the present volume there is not a word that can wound or justly give offence. But Stanley's letters present difficulties of an exceptional kind. He was essentially a 'full' man, in Bacon's phraseology, and his correspondence abounds in illustrations derived from his wide acquaintance with the past, in comparisons suggested by his own multifarious journeys, and in such references to contemporary events as after the lapse of a generation or more may now be obscure. On each and all of these points a flood of light is cast by Mr. Prothero. Each letter is headed by a Note, in which every allusion is concisely and clearly explained, and the labour thus incurred must have been far more considerable than, perhaps, many readers will realize, as, provided beforehand with Mr. Prothero's master-key, they comprehend without effort any reference to an obscure saint of the second or to an already forgotten politician of the nineteenth century.

The chief interest of the letters consists in their account of Stanley's travels, and in his vivid description of the different places he visited. Stanley was an indefatigable globe-trotter, and nothing of historic interest lay beyond the sphere of his sympathies. How varied and wide these were, a glance at the pages before us will reveal. Far East and far West—the cradle of civilization and religion in Egypt and Syria, and their latest development in the United States of America; the great conventual sanctuaries, Sinai and Mount Athos, the Grande Chartreuse, and Monte Cassino; the Greek Church, as seen in its Eastern and its closely allied Russian homes; the great Latin Communion under a hundred aspects, from the strange sanctuary of the Holy House at Loreto to the gorgeous ceremonial of All Souls' Day at the Sistine Chapel; European cities standing out in the most marked contrast: Stockholm and Constantinople, Ravenna and Upsala, Rome and Moscow, Edin-

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burgh and Nijni Novgorod, Paris and Thebes and Baalbec and the Isle of Skye, are all brought in turn before us, and the writer's eager, engrossed interest is testified by the fulness and accuracy with which he describes them all. To no man could the well-worn adage *Homo sum : humani nihil, &c.*, be more fittingly applied. No man was ever less disposed to rest satisfied with results already achieved. The man who had exhausted most of what Italy and the East could teach him might well have excused himself the toil of a weary journey to hunt out some scanty remains on the wild shores of Galloway ; but Stanley was never *blasé*. Here is his own description of a day, which may serve to illustrate his unwearied efforts to see things for himself :

'The next day Dr. Stuart and I started alone on a journey of discovery into the west peninsula, the Rinns of Galloway. We were in search of two objects : one, a stone of the fourth century having an inscription of one of Ninian's companions, St. Mathurin ; the other, a cave-chapel of the eighth century, whence an Irish saint, Medan, embarked on a stone to cross the neighbouring bay. No one exactly knew where either of these sacred places was, and we therefore had to depend on the chance information of the manses on the road.'

The memorial of St. Mathurin, probably the earliest authentic monument of Scottish Christian antiquity, was found easily enough. It was serving as the gatepost of a deserted graveyard, and bore the saint's name in its original characters. The discovery of the cave-chapel was a more arduous task, which Stanley must describe in his own words :

'When we arrived at the appointed village the minister was out, but his wife, an active, sprightly little woman, came to our assistance, and at once said, "You must come to the doctor of the village ; he is an antiquary ; he is the only man who knows anything about it." Thither we went, and found a bronzed and black-moustached little practitioner. . . . He undertook to be our guide. The next thing was to get a vehicle, for our own horses had to rest after their long drive. For this the minister's wife and I went to the farmer. He, too, was out, but his wife, too, was at home, and she offered her services. There was the pony, but he was in the field. Peter should go out to catch him, but sometimes he took two hours to catch, and when he was caught there was no one to drive him, and the harness was lent to Mr. Hamilton. However, in half an hour the pony was caught, the harness was brought, and the doctor undertook to drive us. We drove on four miles over a waste country, almost to the very Land's End of Scotland ; left the pony with another farmer, mighty in cheeses, which we inspected for his (not our) gratification, and then scrambled down a huge precipice to the seashore, where, opening through rents in the rocks on the wide stormy bay, was Medan's Cave, faced with the rude masonry of which there is only one other example in Scotland, and probably of the eighth century. By the time that the doctor had driven us back (his tongue by this time having got full play, and pouring forth the most trenchant and amusing reflections on all things, sacred and profane), and that the minister's wife had given us tea and shown us Walter Scott's autograph in her album, it was already 6 p.m. ; and we started on our way back to Monreith, which we had left at 10 a.m., and did not reach till 1.30 a.m., having made a

journey of seventy-four miles. Often did I think of Guy Mannering's midnight travels in those parts, in the never-failing hope of reaching Kippletringan' (p. 363).

We had marked a full score of descriptive paragraphs as specially noteworthy—among them the account of Ravenna, Thebes, Mount Athos, and others—but the limits of a Short Notice preclude elaborate quotation, and it is hardly necessary to point out particular passages when a high standard of excellence is uniformly maintained. The secret of Stanley's success in vivid description must have lain in his power of concentrating his whole mind upon the subject before him, and thus of exhausting it. It is this, we think, which explains both his indifference to visiting a second time even spots of enthralling interest, and which so entirely focussed his attention on one aspect of his subject as to make him disregard all the rest. For example, it has been affirmed that Stanley was insensible to the beauty of natural scenery, but we believe the truth rather is that he was so often entirely engrossed with historical associations as to overlook all besides. That he was not so indifferent is amply proved by the following picture of sunset and sunrise as seen from Monte Generoso. It would be hard to find a description more accurate, more beautiful, or more discriminating:

'I have never seen,' he wrote, 'anything of its kind so complete. The Monte Rosa, which I have not seen since our Zermatt days, brooded over the whole: above her shoulder rose, with its irregular shape distinctly visible, the Matterhorn; then, after a number of nameless peaks, the Bernese Alps, Jungfrau, Monk, and the pyramid of the Finsteraarhorn; then, far away, the snowy line of the Bernina. On the other side, springing up quite alone in the midst of the sky, the solitary Monte Viso.

'What a vision, as of another world, ethereal as air, yet solid with the solidity of eternity—as of the Isles of the Blessed floating over the shifting clouds of this troubled world—as of the everlasting principles of Truth and Goodness dominating alike over lake and plain and hill, on this side the mountains and on that, Cismontane and Ultramontane, in all senses of the words! The setting sun struck here and there on each of the features of the view with different effects, as Heavenly Light strikes with different effects on each character and doctrine. Then comes the solemn moment of death-like pallor, when the sun itself vanishes "in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye," and the whole scene is changed—yet with a departing smile.

'We saw a large part of the view also at sunrise from a nearer point this morning. There was the deep, dark shade resting on the Lake of Lugano and its mountains, just varied and veiled with a floating fleecy veil of mist, and the heavens from the East gradually brightening with the dawn. Then the great range, which up to that moment had stood out clear with a blank, ghastly whiteness against the dark sky becoming more and more suffused with the advancing blush of morning, and suddenly lighted up into splendour. We had found at the hotel a volume containing Milton's Hymn at Sunrise in the *Paradise Lost*. It struck me for the first time that the five lines which speak of the "steaming lake" and their "mists and exhalations," whose "fleecy skies" are touched with gold, as also the invocation of the pine forest which immediately follows, must have been in his recollection of these very Swiss or Italian

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lakes. English or Scottish lakes he had never seen. These he must have passed in his early journey to Italy, and never forgotten through years of controversy, civil war, desolation and blindness' (pp. 378-79).

The verses occupy but a subordinate place in the volume before us, but they will be read with the interest which attaches to all that belongs to Stanley. Mr. Prothero's selection comprises 'The Gypsies,' an exceptionally good Newdigate, some 'Vers de Société' and specimens of hymns, most of which challenge comparison with other translations from well-known Latin originals, which they can hardly be said to surpass. Perhaps the best example is the following short poem, written on the third anniversary of his wife's death, whose loss he ever felt so keenly :

ABSENCE AND PRESENCE.

I feel her absence, as I move
 Stumbling in ways untried, unknown,
 Without the word of warning love
 To guide my path, uncertain and alone.

I feel her presence, as there heaves
 Some noble thought or deed in view,
 Thro' which her tone, her look inweaves
 Its own sweet harmony, its radiant hue.

I feel her absence, as I roam
 Where had she come, each strange abode
 Would seem like some long-cherished home
 And with triumphal joy and wondering awe have glowed.

I feel her presence, in each hand
 That presses mine with firmer hold,
 Because her soul from land to land
 Has laid the magic touch which turns one's life to gold.

Absent or present, far or near,
 Named or unnamed, the vacant space,
 In ease or care, thro' smile or tear,
 Speaks with that silent voice, shines with that vanished face.

(P. 433.)

La Crise Religieuse en Angleterre. Par le Père Ragey, Mariste.
 (Paris : Victor Lecoffre, 1896.)

WE understand that the substance of this book has previously appeared in the *Université*, the review of the Catholic faculty at Lyons. In the preface Père Ragey mentions that it was written with French Catholics in view, and asks any Anglicans under whose eyes it may fall to bear this fact in mind.

The book contains a description, which, because of the writer's point of view, is of great interest, of the religious condition of England at the present time. If a reader is somewhat annoyed at the outset by a parallel, which surely will not bear thought even from the standpoint of a Roman Catholic, between the recovery of a lost Christianity by the English nation through the preaching of St. Augustine and a like restoration in the establishment of the 'Catholic Hierarchy' in 1850, it is only right to welcome the general fairness

of the writer's comments upon the condition of the English people and the English Church. It would not be difficult to infer from the work itself the truth of the statement made in the preface that the author's knowledge of England had led him to love it.¹

The estimate of the English character formed by Père Ragey is very high. He repudiates with scorn the notion of one of his countrymen that England is 'a shop in the morning and a kitchen in the evening.'² He regards the progress of the nation and the extension of its influence throughout the world as no less Providential than the features of the Roman Empire which paved the way for the preaching of Christianity, and he looks forward to the time when the ships which 'Protestant England' has made ready shall carry to the ends of the earth 'the kingdom of the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.'³

The obstacles to corporate reunion between England and Rome which the writer mentions include some matters which, in our judgment, are the outcome of fidelity to Catholic principles. But we must admit that on some points he directs attention to real sources of weakness in English Church thought. When he describes how it is comparatively easy to induce an English Churchman to believe separate doctrines by a process of reasoning, and most difficult to lead him to recognize the principle of authority by which the teaching of the Church is to be accepted apart from the argumentative proof of each single dogma, we both recognize and lament the truthfulness of his picture.⁴ His candid acknowledgment of the

¹ 'Il aime l'Angleterre qu'il a longtemps habitée' (p. 7).

² 'C'est une boutique le matin ; le soir, c'est une cuisine' (quoted on p. 110, from De Mirecourt, *Nos Voisins les Anglais*, p. 12).

³ 'Ah ! ces hommes à qui les progrès des inventions modernes donnent comme des ailes sont les envoyés de cet évêque de Rome, successeur de Pierre, dont l'Angleterre s'était séparée et dont elle a méconnu les droits pendant trois siècles ; ils sont aussi les envoyés de cette grande nation rattachée au centre de l'unité catholique, et ils s'en vont porter sur toutes les plages du monde le nom adorable de Jésus et celui de son auguste Mère, la bienheureuse Vierge Marie, et étendre jusqu'aux extrémités de la terre le règne de la sainte Eglise catholique, apostolique, romaine, et ils volent sur les vaisseaux que tu leur as préparés, ô protestante Angleterre !' (pp. 103-4.)

⁴ 'Vous pouvez démontrer à un protestant anglais, en vous appuyant sur les saintes Ecritures et sur la tradition, que Notre Seigneur est présent dans l'Eucharistie ; que la sainte Vierge, à cause de sa dignité suréminente de Mère de Dieu, est digne de nos hommages, qu'elle mérite même de notre part un culte spécial qui, sans aller jusqu'à l'adoration, la place cependant dans notre vénération et dans notre amour au-dessus des saints et des anges eux-mêmes ; si votre démonstration est forte et concluante, il admettra ces vérités, bien d'autres encore. Vous pourrez même peu à peu lui faire admettre ainsi presque toutes les vérités que l'Eglise enseigne ; seulement il les admettra, non parce que l'Eglise les enseigne, mais parce que vos interprétations de la sainte Ecriture lui paraissent justes, que vos arguments tirés de la tradition lui semblent forts, et vos raisonnements concluants, c'est-à-dire parce que sa raison lui dit qu'il doit les admettre' (pp. 130-1).

many difficulties in the way of the accomplishment of what he regards as the Divine purpose for the English nation is to be commended, as the earnestness of his call to prayer for re-union deserves the fullest sympathy.

Père Ragey's residence in England might, perhaps, have led him to attach somewhat less importance than he appears to do to the opinions of the *Times* newspaper as a criterion of English religious thought. And, though the standpoint of a leading secular paper may well deserve attention, and does, no doubt, in this instance, represent the views of very many English people, yet it might have been an advantage if he had seen his way to quote, by the side of the sharp sentence with which the *Times* greeted a recent letter from the Pope,¹ some parts of the articles which appeared at the same time in the *Guardian*² and the *Record*,³ which, while representing differing attitudes and by no means failing to consider uncomfortable facts, did not, in their general tone, resemble that of the *Times*.⁴

It is a matter of some disappointment also to find that a French writer of so friendly a tone, while by no means agreeing with Cardinal Vaughan's frequently expressed opinion that the only practical way of reunion is by 'individual conversions' from the English Church, altogether accepts the Cardinal's attitude that complete submission to the present Roman claims is a necessary preliminary to union. Père Ragey is careful to say that the theory of some Roman Catholic theologians, which represents the Pope as the necessary channel of the jurisdiction of the bishops, is only one of differing opinions on the subject which are tenable and lawful in the Roman Church;⁵ but he gives no hint that he is prepared to allow that a true Church life may continue to exist without being externally united to the See of Rome.

There is no indication, moreover, of any tendency to acknowledge the many faults in the past history and present condition of the Roman Church. We are quite ready to admit that we have faults enough. To idealize either the history of our past or our present state seems to us as harmful as it is wrong. But the hope

¹ 'Reunion with Rome is at present a mere dream, and Leo XIII. has done his best to make this perfectly plain,' *Times*, April 22, 1895.

² *Guardian*, April 24, 1895.

³ *Record*, April 26, 1895.

⁴ We observe that the above suggestion has been made also by the Abbé Portal in an interesting article on Père Ragey's book in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* for March 21, 1896, pp. 728-46.

⁵ 'Il est vrai que, d'après un certain nombre de théologiens, le pape est l'intermédiaire nécessaire de toute la juridiction des évêques. Cette opinion est soutenable, mais ce n'est qu'une opinion' (p. 201). We are glad of the opportunity of calling attention to a remarkable article by the eminent theologian M. Boudinhon which appeared in the *Revue Anglo-Romaine* for December 7, 1895 (pp. 10-23), under the title 'Le Pouvoir des Clés et l'Episcopat,' in which the theory to which we have referred was spoken of as only one of differing opinions that are lawful in the Roman Church, and apparently as rejected by the distinguished writer of the article.

of reunion lies in frankness on both sides, and the prayers that are offered in France and in Italy and in England alike should be prayers of penitence.

The limits of our space have compelled us to give a disproportionate amount of room to criticism; but we can assure Père Ragey of the warmth with which we reciprocate his friendly spirit and of our sorrow—not less deep, we think, than his own—at the divisions of Christendom.

A letter from Cardinal Vaughan to the author, as written in English and accompanied by a translation into French, is printed at the beginning of the book.

The Church of the Living God. An Essay on her nature, method, and purpose. By HERBERT H. JEAFFRESON, M.A., Assistant Priest of St. Augustine's, Kilburn, Author of *The Divine Unity and Trinity, Sermons on Magnificat, &c.* (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Lim., 1896.)

MR. JEAFFRESON describes the subject and aims of this book in the preface.

'I deal in reality with two theses only: That a visible Church, the authorized embodiment of the spiritual Church, is essential to God's plan in redeeming the world; and that apparent failure on the part of this visible Church may be a part of the redemptive mystery of the Cross.

'I find then (besides the initial difficulty of my incompetence) a cause of hesitation in my intermediate position between those who, recognizing in the Church a divine society, fear to acknowledge defects in her, and those who, conscious of her defects, fail to recognize her divine essence. I fear that, while some will blame me as narrow and superstitious, others will accord me the severer sentence of irreverence' (Preface, pp. vii, viii).

There are both thoughts and phrases in the book to which we should be unwilling to be committed. There is, we think, a serious confusion of thought in some parts of the treatment of the relation between the possession of infallibility by the Church and the enactment of minute and elaborate definitions. There are suggestions which tend to lessen unjustifiably the seriousness of the Nestorian and Eutychian heresies, and allow too much to Presbyterian claims. And we doubt whether the author has mastered the facts of the history of some of the bodies of Eastern Christians which are separated from the Greek and Russian Churches.

But, in spite of such defects, *The Church of the Living God* is not only interesting but valuable. It is of high importance that emphasis should be laid on the fact that, while there is a *minimum* with regard to each of the Notes of the Church which cannot be lost without separation from the covenanted means of grace, yet a part of the Church may be very far indeed from an ideal condition without ceasing to have true union with the life of Christ. With regard both to the general principles of the Church and to the particular position of ourselves as Anglicans, there is much in what Mr. Jeaffreson has

written which may well receive careful attention. We may quote as specimens of his method of treatment a useful statement on external unity, a frank recognition of failings in different parts of the Church, and a criticism upon the historian Gibbon, which, if it will not command universal assent, is at least of interest.

'We need not be surprised (however saddened) to find the Church's external life not fully corresponding to her internal and essential unity. The history of man is largely a history of the goodwill of God disregarded and outraged; and the history of the Church is no exception. Passions, often excited by trifles, have led Christians to repudiate, hate, and persecute each other. Where has the unity of the Church been fully operative? Her records are full of strife between East and West, between Rome and Avignon, between Pope and cardinals, between bishops and priests, between clergy and people, between seculars and religious, between Dominicans and Franciscans; nor is the same strife less (though it is no more) conspicuous between the parties and schools of the Church in England' (pp. 48-9).

'However true it is that the Fathers were not Roman Catholics, it is quite as certain that they were not Anglicans. If St. Athanasius or St. Augustine had returned to earth we may well believe that they would have rejected the claims of the Pope, that they would have demanded the chalice for the people, been perplexed by Indulgences, and scandalized by the language addressed to the Mother of God; but would they have found our Articles any more intelligible? What would they make of a Christian people of which nine-tenths live in entire neglect of the one Christian service, where sinners are expected to absolve themselves, where the prayers for that vast portion of the Catholic Church which has passed over Jordan are expressed in such whispered phrases as might have been unintelligible to those accustomed to a franker speech?' (p. 149).

'History, for instance, is a jumble of names and dates to a child, a series of facts to a statist; to the moralist it is the evolution of moral laws; and just so far as he understands these laws (which he is not likely to appreciate if he be personally indifferent to them), he will rightly interpret the facts which embody them. This, I conceive, is the reason why such a man as Gibbon fails as a historian: he is learned, fairly accurate, usually candid, vivid in narration; but he moves on the surface because he is an indifferentist in morals, has no faith in their cogency, no interest in their evolution' (p. 133).

Religious Doubt, its Nature, Treatment, Causes, Difficulties, Consequences, and Dissolution. By the Rev. JOHN W. DIGGLE, M.A., Vicar of Mossley Hill, Hon. Canon of Liverpool, and Examining Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Carlisle. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895.)

THIS is a book which is likely to be of service to more than one class of readers. It may help greatly persons who are themselves in doubt, and it may be useful to believers who have to deal with the doubts of others. There is thus a prospect of its fulfilling the hope expressed in the preface, where Mr. Diggle says:

'On the one hand I have sought to persuade believers to treat Religious Doubt with large-mindedness and in a Christian temper, and on the other hand to persuade doubters not to be content with doubting, but to

examine rigorously into the causes of their doubts, to confront steadily the great difficulties besetting doubt—difficulties often greater than those of belief—and to consider fairly the methods suggested for dissolving their doubts, and for attaining that degree of spiritual health and strength which is essential to clear and constant faith' (Preface, p. vii).

We are very far indeed from agreeing with all which we have read in *Religious Doubt*, and there are indications in it that much in the author's general theological position does not correspond to what we cannot but think to be the true faith of the Church of Christ. He appears to us to exaggerate greatly the differences between the divided branches of the Catholic Church. He fails, in our judgment, to appreciate the real issues involved in the questions raised by the criticism of Holy Scripture. He underestimates, we think, the extent to which religious doubt is at the present time concerned with matters of fundamental belief. His view of ecclesiastical definitions and of the growth of dogma is one which we cannot accept. He has no room for a true doctrine of infallibility, either of the Church or of the Bible, and ignores any adequate idea of the teaching office of the Church. He does not, throughout the book generally, allow sufficiently for the fact that doubt is not unfrequently the result of sin. His condemnation of certain clauses in the Athanasian Creed, and his attitude towards asceticism and celibacy, afford instances of a certain amount of misunderstanding not unmixed with unfairness to lines of thought and methods of life with which he does not sympathize. We doubt whether he gives a proper place in his mind to the compatibility of uncompromisingly holding the truth in all its details, with due consideration for those who are unable to accept some parts or the whole of it. These are the most important matters in which we think the work calls for criticism; and when we have added that the style in a few places strikes us as being too rhetorical for its subject, and as needing compression, we are able to turn to a more congenial part of our task.

Among the valuable features, one of the most valuable is the earnestness of Mr. Diggle's wish really to understand doubt and what lies behind and beneath it, and with this must be connected his uniformly charitable tone towards those to whom belief is a difficulty. We must notice also, as having special value, his explanation of the differing grades of goodness; several statements on doubt as the result of sin—although, as we have already mentioned, he does not allow sufficiently for this fact throughout the book; his affirmation of the limitations of scientific certainty; the emphasis on the need of trust in ordinary matters, and on the oneness of both believers and doubters in their estimates of the problems of life; the full treatment of the law that the constitution of man's being limits the whole amount of energy and work of which he is capable, and that therefore the excessive use of one set of faculties impairs the power of using other faculties; and of the difficulties in the way of doubt.

As an instance of Mr. Diggle's methods of thought and expression we may quote part of what he says on the 'law of Divine permission':

'The existence of morality depends on the existence of probation, on the surrender of the will, without compulsion, to reason and light. Immoral lives are the rebellions against reason, and irreligious lives are the rebellion against faith. And though we may not be able to understand the whole of the causes why religious people are permitted to lead irreligious lives, yet we may see, and see clearly, that it is part of the same economy of things which permits rational persons to lead immoral, *i.e.* irrational lives. And as no one doubts the existence of reason because numbers of persons possessed with the light of reason yet live irrationally, so neither should anyone doubt the existence of faith because numbers of persons, though partaking of religious light, yet live irreligiously. A wise man neither doubts the existence of reason because rebels against reason live irrationally, nor the existence of faith because rebels against faith live irreligiously, inasmuch as his experience teaches him that the condition of mankind on earth is, under the Law of Divine Permission, universally such as to permit them to abuse, and to suffer from abusing, whatever gifts or lights of any sort they may possess.

'With regard to religious persons who sin against their religion, not deliberately and persistently, but occasionally and as it were by impulse, and whose infidelities to their religion are followed by the pangs of contrition and the miseries of self-torture, the case is entirely different.

'There is all the difference in the world between a temporary and occasional overthrow of some higher faculty in man by a faculty that is lower, and the continuous and willing subservience of the higher faculties to the rebellious excesses of the lower. When in anyone's life reason for the most part exercises its sovereignty over sense, while still allowing to the senses their rightful use, then, notwithstanding an occasional overthrow of reason, such a life is justly called rational. In like manner, when faith exercises a general sovereignty over both sense and reason (though allowing to both in their own sphere due liberty and power), then, notwithstanding an occasional overthrow of faith, the believer is justly said to lead a religious life. For the true character of every life is determined, not by any occasional feature of it, but by its dominant tendency and general tone. There is as much difference between sinfulness and sin as there is between consistent foolishness and an occasional folly. An occasional folly is a momentary overthrow of reason, soon to be avenged by the return of reason to its throne, with perhaps augmented influence; consistent foolishness is the abiding subservience of reason to some rebellious usurper. Similarly, sinfulness is the habitual acquiescence of the spirit, without struggle or regret, in the usurpations of the lower appetites; whereas a single sin is the momentary overthrow of faith by some conflicting element in our nature, soon to be followed by the pangs of spiritual torture, and the determined endeavour of the spirit to resume again, with increased authority, its rightful throne.

'Thus neither occasional sins nor continuous sinfulness on the part of religious persons are any more argument against religion than occasional follies or continuous foolishness on the part of rational persons are an argument against reason. We know from experience that many persons, endowed with reason, are either occasionally or persistently foolish. We know also from experience that many persons, illuminated with religion, are either occasionally or consistently irreligious. And as men suffer for their neglect of reason, so (says the Bible) they will suffer, and not escape, for their neglect of religion.¹ But as neither the neglect of reason nor its consequent sufferings lead us to doubt or abandon

¹ Hebrews ii. 3.

reason, so neither the neglect of religion nor its appointed miseries should lead us to doubt or abandon religion' (pp. 70-73).

Mr. Diggle appears to us to have drunk in much of the mind and spirit of Bishop Butler; and he is probably indebted, directly or indirectly, to Cardinal Newman to an extent which is perhaps greater than he himself realizes.

The Sceptics of the Old Testament. Job, Koheleth, Agur, with English text translated for the first time from the primitive Hebrew as restored on the basis of recent philological discoveries. By E. J. DILLON, late Professor of Comparative Philology and Ancient Armenian at the Imperial University of Kharkoff, Doctor of Oriental Languages of the University of Louvain, Magstrand of the Oriental Faculty of the Imperial University of St. Petersburg, Member of the Armenian Academy of Venice, Membre de la Société Asiatique de Paris, &c. &c. (London: Isbister & Co., Limited, 1895.)

DR. DILLON'S view of the three writers of the Old Testament of whom he treats is stated in the Preface.

'Agur, "Job," and "Koheleth" had outgrown the intellectual husks which a narrow, inadequate, and erroneous account of God's dealings with man had caused to form around the minds of their countrymen, and they had the moral courage to put their words into harmony with their thoughts. Clearly perceiving that, whatever the sacerdotal class might say to the contrary, the political strength of the Hebrew people was spent and its religious ideals exploded, they sought to shift the centre of gravity from speculative theology to practical morality.'

'The manner in which they adjusted their hopes, fears, and aspirations to the new conditions, strikes the key-note of their respective characters. "Job," looking down upon the world from the tranquil heights of genius, is manful, calm, resigned. "Koheleth," shuddering at the gloom that envelops and the pain that convulses all living beings, prefers death to life, and freedom from suffering to "positive" pleasure; while Agur, revealing the bitterness bred by dispelled illusions and blasted hopes, administers a severe chastisement to those who first called them into being. All three reject the dogma of retribution, the doctrine of eternal life and belief in the coming of a Messiah, over and above which they at times strip the notion of God of its most essential attributes, reducing it to the shadow of a mere metaphysical abstraction. This is why I call them sceptics.'

'"Job" and "Koheleth" emphatically deny that there is any proof to be found of the so-called moral order in the universe, and they unhesitatingly declare that existence is an evil' (Pref. pp. ix-xi).

It is in accordance with this general position that Job's solution of the problems of life is declared to be the same as that of Buddha (pp. 32-4); that the 'sublime morality inculcated in' his 'poem' is said to have been 'preached and to a great extent practised in India by the Jainists and Buddhists' (p. 65); that Dr. Dillon 'cannot divest' himself 'of the notion that Koheleth was acquainted, and to some extent imbued, with the doctrines of Gautama Buddha' (p. 122; cf. pp. 7, 113, 122-9, 242 n.², 247 n.², 254 n.¹); and that, though 'it is

impossible to do more than conjecture' 'to what extent Indian thought, and in particular the metaphysics and ethics of Buddhism, influenced Agur's religious speculations' (p. 155), yet 'some of his sayings have an unmistakable Indian ring about them,' and 'a few are even directly traceable to the philosophical sentences of the Hindoos' (p. 148), while all three writers are regarded as anticipating the pessimism of Schopenhauer (pp. 7, 101 n.², 113, 140, 247 n.²).¹

It is impossible to dispute the ability of Dr. Dillon's work or the anxious thought he has given to the books upon which he comments, and the problems which he has connected with the study of them. It is only just, too, to give him credit for entire sincerity in his conviction of the truth of his opinions, and his belief that the theories he has formulated in this volume are not necessarily inconsistent with the Christian Faith (see, e.g., Pref. pp. xii, 110, 113). But it is not possible to pass by his treatment of the text of the Old Testament without the most emphatic protest. 'It is,' he says, 'absolutely certain that the book' of Job,

'as we find it in the Authorized Version, and even in the best Hebrew manuscripts, is a mosaic put together by a number of writers widely differing in their theological views and separated from each other by whole centuries; and it is equally undoubted that, restored to its original form, it is "a poem round and perfect as a star"—the masterpiece of one of the most gifted artists of his own or any age' (p. 35).

Certain passages were, he contends, 'remorselessly suppressed,' others 'were split up and transposed,' 'many prolix discourses, feeble or powerful word-pictures and trite commonplaces' were inserted 'for the sole purpose of toning down the most audacious piece of rationalistic philosophy which has ever yet been clothed in the music of sublime verse' (pp. 45-6). By means, then, of 'common sense aided by cautious text criticism,' of the inferences from the method and laws of Hebrew poetry, and of the help of the Septuagint version as represented by the text of the Saïdic version discovered by Professor Bickell, Dr. Dillon has reconstructed the book of Job (pp. 45-52). Similarly, he accepts Professor Bickell's theory that

'the present disordered condition of the book Koheleth is the result of the shifting of the sheets of the Hebrew manuscript from their original places and of the addition of a number of deliberate interpolations. The latter are of two kinds: those which seemed necessary for the purpose of supplying the cement required to join together the unconnected verses which, in consequence of the dislocation, were unexpectedly placed side by side, and the passages composed with the object of toning down or serving as a counterpoise to the very unorthodox views of the writer' (p. 92).

And his view of the thirtieth chapter of the book of Proverbs is that it contains an original poem of the 'sweeping scepticism of the poet Agur' interwoven with an answer composed in protest by an 'anonymous adversary' (p. 137).

¹ It is a little startling to find Schopenhauer referred to as 'greater than Koheleth' on p. 101, note ².

On such methods of textual criticism as are here adopted it is difficult to know what could not be proved about any book. It is certainly the duty of students of the Old Testament to demand reasons, which do not appear to be forthcoming,¹ for Dr. Dillon's treatment of the text before they begin to consider his theories of the standpoint of the writers.

There is an odd slip on p. 43, where the manuscripts of the Septuagint are referred to as if they were manuscripts of the Hebrew text.

The Doctrine and Practice of the Eucharist as deduced from Scripture and the Ancient Liturgies. By the Rev. J. R. MILNE. (London : Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895.)

THE author of this small book explains that he has been prevented from the publication of all his materials by want of means and experience in literary work. The line which he takes and the tone in which he expresses his views make his present slight venture worth reading, although the reader will repeatedly find a difficulty in restraining his impatience at the thinness of Mr. Milne's matter. It is 'no lower purely negative and Protestant view' which Mr. Milne seeks 'to vindicate, but a higher Scriptural and liturgical view of which the ordinary Roman and so-called "Catholic" is the merest travesty' (Pref. p. v). The discussion of this theme seems to us to bring out clearly that there is much solid unity of belief beneath the apparently contradictory language of Eucharistic controversy. Given a complex doctrine—and every doctrine connected with the Incarnation has at least two sides—and given also a body of theologians whose learning is partial and whose minds have no large capacity of Athanasian balancing power, these surface discrepancies are only to be expected. There is a good instance of doing justice to various aspects

¹ That we are not led to form this opinion through prejudice may be illustrated from Dr. Dillon's treatment of Job xxiv. 5-8, 10-24, xxx. 3-7. He attempts to justify the assertion that these verses 'take the place of Job's blasphemous complaint about the unjust government of the world' by saying, 'The circumstances that their contents are as irrelevant to the context as would be a number of stanzas of *The Ancient Mariner* if introduced into *Paradise Lost*, that in form they are wholly different from the strophes of the poem of Job, and that there is obviously a sudden break in the text of the latter just when heterodoxy merges into blasphemy, have forced critics to the conclusion—*about which there is hardly any difference of opinion*' (the italics are ours)—'that these tristichs are extracts from a very different work, which were inserted to fill up the void created by orthodox theologians of a later date' (p. 55). Accordingly the passages are omitted in Dr. Dillon's translation (pp. 215, 222). We observe that no doubt is expressed about any of the three passages by Dr. Driver in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*, or by Professor Margoliouth in his article 'Job' in the new edition of the *Dictionary of the Bible*, and that all except xxiv. 13-24 are printed as part of the original work by Professor Siegfried in his critical edition of the Hebrew text of the book of Job. Even if Dr. Dillon considers Dr. Driver too timid to be reckoned among 'critics,' he can hardly say that of Professor Siegfried.

of truth, in the description of the true relation of the Eucharist to the perfect Sacrifice on the Cross and to the pleading of that Sacrifice now in heaven (chaps. i. and ii.) But when Mr. Milne is very properly insisting that 'Do this' was addressed to all the members of the 'Spirit-bearing body,' he fails to recognize that the ministers of the Church are priests in a sense in which the other members of the body are not (p. 22). And when he is enforcing the truth that in the Eucharistic offering we enter as members of Christ into the holiest and plead His merits there, he draws a conclusion from this which ignores the union between earth and heaven which has just been enforced (p. 44). The fifth chapter on the agency of the Holy Ghost in the Eucharistic consecration (p. 46) contains some illustrations of varieties of Romanist belief on the Holy Eucharist (p. 55), and a timely warning on the possibilities of error in tracing a parallel, without very careful limitation, between the Incarnation and the Eucharist (p. 57). On the difficult question of the reception of the wicked, Mr. Milne has made some thoughtful observations, but has not steered quite safely through the difficulties of the distinction between 'eat' and 'eat with profit' (p. 63). The chapters on Eucharistic adoration and intercession (pp. 71, 85) examine the positive teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews and expose several Romanist misrepresentations. But Mr. Milne does not really survey the parts of the subject with completeness, and for a scholarly account of the 'theological process' by which the Romanist Eucharistic doctrine has been built up the reader must go elsewhere.¹ It is only in the last chapter (p. 96) that Mr. Milne approaches 'the evidence of the liturgies and ancient writers,' and, although it is by far his longest chapter and fills some fifty pages with some useful materials, the incompleteness of the survey is again very noticeable, especially in details. Mr. Milne's general deductions from liturgical and patristic study are that the Eucharistic offering is that of the whole Church and not of the priest alone; that it is an offering of praise and prayer and not the mere repetition of the words of institution; that it is an oblation of bread and wine in commemoration of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ accepted through His mediation; that the consecration is effected by the invocation of the Holy Ghost and not merely by repeating the words of our Lord, and that in the Eucharist we take part with Christ in His heavenly offering. We gravely object to the form in which Mr. Milne expresses several of these conclusions, and must point out one or two defects. There is a short note on ἀποφώνη on p. 126, but Mr. Milne does not quote the valuable passage from St. Cyril's chief letter to Nestorius, which makes use of the word.² The teaching of St. Irenæus is discussed more fully than that

¹ Canon Gore's *Dissertations*, p. 227, on 'Transubstantiation and Nihilianism'; *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 82, p. 303; Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*, ref. to 'Transubstantiation' in index.

² *ὡς γὰρ ὁν κατὰ φύσιν ὡς Θεός, ἐπειδὴ γέγονεν ἐν πρὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ σάρκα, ζωοποιὸν ἀπέφηνεν αὐτὸν.* Pusey's 'Three Letters of St. Cyril,' p. 26. The same thought appears in St. Athanasius, *Ad. Max.* 2, and compare *ἵνα ἡμεῖς θεοποιηθῶμεν*, *De Inc.* 54, 3¹.

of some other Fathers, but Mr. Milne does not go deep enough, nor does he notice some important variations in the reading of the text of St. Irenæus which affect his sacramental teaching.¹ In the note on p. 49 and in the last line of p. 144 the type is disturbed. 'Irenic' in the sense of 'pacific' (Pref. p. vi) is not a word of established usage. We wish that Mr. Milne could overcome the hindrances which prevented him from publishing his larger work, because we can clearly see that he has devoted much study to the subject of the Holy Eucharist, and has endeavoured in a reverent spirit to look beneath words into their meaning.²

Lectures on St. Bernard of Clairvaux. With Appendix on the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the B.V.M. By W. J. SPARROW-SIMPSON, M.A., Vicar of St. Mark's, Regent's Park. (London: J. Masters and Co., 1895.)

SAINT BERNARD'S share in the victory that overcometh the world is large, and there seems to be no sign that his life and methods of carrying on the Christian warfare are in danger of being forgotten. Bernard's reliance upon spiritual forces, his austere devotion to the Church of Christ, his entire fidelity to the principle of law in all theological disputations, and his illuminating power of mystical interpretation are all, indeed, in strong contrast with the tendencies of our own age. But from the very strength of contrast he exercises upon us a peculiar influence, almost a 'fascination,' as Mr. Sparrow-Simpson calls it (Preface). These lectures are themselves a witness to St. Bernard's attractive power, for they appear to have been welcomed by 'a number of persons in St. Pancras who were anxious to read in the history of the Church.' They grew out of 'an attempt to study St. Bernard's theology'; but, although there is a carefully written appendix on St. Bernard's rejection of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and on its subsequent history and developments (p. 211), yet the lectures are much more historical than theological. The student must go elsewhere—and in an excellent little bibliographical note on p. 249 Mr. Sparrow-Simpson tells him where to go—for anything in the shape of a complete analysis of St. Bernard's dogmatic teaching, and for a fuller presentation of the points which make his sermons unique. The sermons themselves, and such comments upon them as are supplied by Dr. Eales,³ must be studied by a reader who wants to investigate the matter thoroughly. And for a wide and deep historical investigation it will still be necessary to consult the larger works to which Mr. Sparrow-Simpson

¹ See Appendix A in *Waymarks in Church History*, by W. Bright, D.D., p. 355.

² It is happily possible to quote many instances of a kindred spirit: *De Imitat. Christi*, iv. 18; Hooker, v. 67, 3; *Lyra Apostolica*, No. 33; the Preface to Dr. Pusey's little book on *Holy Communion*, p. v; and Edward's *Songs of a Parish Priest*, p. 39.

³ See the excellent edition of *Cantica Canticorum*, translated and edited, with notes, by the Rev. S. J. Eales, M.A., D.C.L. (Elliot Stock).

refers.¹ His own lectures, in fact, are of a popular kind; they pretend to be and are nothing more. But they are well worth reading, and will enable a stranger to St. Bernard to see enough of his spiritual power and beauty to send him to the saint's own works. There glowing devotion is to be found, which is a fine corrective for that spiritual hardening to which the priestly life is continually exposed.² The lecture on St. Bernard's early days tells us that his father was a soldier who was singularly in advance of the commonly authorized habits of his time, and his mother, another Hannah, who dedicated her sons to God, and took them with her from time to time when she ministered in the huts which clustered round her feudal home. The lecture on his novitiate shows how deeply his mother's teaching sank into his mind (p. 15), and when he became abbot of Clairvaux the charity of the house was proverbial (p. 48), and an incident in which Bernard interceded for a criminal shows that in his respect for individual life he followed his father's lofty morality rather than the conventions of his time (pp. 49-51). It was not by Bernard's own choice, but by the force of circumstances and from the need of some sanctifying influence to control the passions and order the schemes of unruly men, that he was called forth from his retirement, and almost from his sick bed, to reform monasteries and to decide the rivalries of papal claimants. The two lectures on 'Bernard as a Monastic Reformer' and 'The Seven Years' Schism' convey a good idea of the way in which Bernard set about the duties of a reformer and a statesman (pp. 58, 94). It is towards the close of this, the fifth, lecture that Mr. Sparrow-Simpson gives his brief remarks on the sermons of St. Bernard (p. 110). A lecture is very properly devoted to the drawing of a contrast between Bernard and Innocent as the two great persons, official and moral, of Christendom (p. 118). The contrast between Bernard and Abélard is even more remarkable, and it is well that a popular audience should be invited to look upon the brilliant audacities of Abélard side by side with the dignified sanctity of Bernard (p. 137). The fundamental differences between the whole theological standpoint and characters of the two men can hardly be exaggerated.³ Perhaps the greatest contrast which the life of St. Bernard presents to us is the picture of Bernard at the head of a crusade,⁴ 'torn again from his beloved seclusion.' With a lecture on this pathetic failure (p. 161), and an account of St. Bernard's later years (p. 187), brightened by converse with Archbishop Malachi, the brave Irish primate who died at Clairvaux, Mr.

¹ In particular St. Bernard should be studied as 'the product of his age,' as in the *Church Quarterly Review* for January 1894, No. lxxiv. p. 300. Dr. Storrs' materials on *Bernard of Clairvaux*, as readers of our review *loc. cit.* will recollect, are of mixed value.

² This was one of Massillon's favourite topics. See his *Works*, ii. 241, 401.

³ On 'Abailard as a Theological Teacher,' see *Church Quarterly Review* for October 1895, No. lxxxii. p. 129.

⁴ A very vivid and just account both of St. Bernard and the Crusades is given in the late Mr. Baldwin Brown's *Stoics and Saints* (Maclehose).

Sparrow-Simpson concludes. The absence of an index and the congregation of notes at the end of the book are matters of regret, though not perhaps for the popular reader. The prince of biographers set all his followers a good example when he printed the year at the top inside corner of each page of his *Life of Johnson*, and we wish that all biographers would follow it.

The Religion of the Crescent, or Islām: its Strength, its Weakness, its Origin, its Influence. By the Rev. W. ST. CLAIR-TISDALL, M.A. Published under the direction of the Tract Committee. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1895.)

THE trustees of the James Long Lectureship Fund invited Mr. Tisdall, as an experienced Church Missionary Society worker, to deliver a course of lectures on the religion of the Muhammadans. These lectures were somewhat strictly confined to the aspects of Islām mentioned in the alternative title, and did not 'dwell at any length upon the biography of Muhammad, the psychological problems presented by his character, the history of the spread of Islām, the number of Muhammadan sects and their various tenets, the vast subject of Muslim mysticism and its origin,' or 'its connexion with Hindū Pantheism and Gnosticism' (p. viii). But there are two marks emphatically stamped upon Mr. Tisdall's lectures which qualify them for the series of 'Non-Christian Religious Systems,' in which they now appear. One is his direct knowledge of the subject on which he writes, and the other is the honesty of his method. He quotes Oriental authorities at first hand, and gives original passages in full in all important cases. He knows his subject, moreover, not only from books, but from long personal intercourse with the followers of the Prophet. It is this fact which makes his candour so valuable in describing what Muhammadanism really is. 'One of the great difficulties which beset any attempt to represent to English people at all correctly any non-Christian religion is that such religions for the most part contain so many things that are *unmentionable*' (p. x). Mr. Tisdall has quoted as many of these things as were necessary in Latin in his foot-notes, and their degrading character is extremely significant. It was right to quote them, for English readers are too ready to accept selections from the sacred books of the heathen as if they were translations of the entire works from which they are taken, and to interpret phrases with Christian eyes which really have meanings which are too coarse for words in their original sense. Mr. Tisdall is able to correct the mistakes of some writers who admire Muhammadanism with a zeal which is not according to knowledge—for instance, Mr. Bosworth Smith (pp. 46, 80, note 7, p. 126) and Canon Isaac Taylor (p. 208). And he is able to place his finger also on some curious Muhammadan blunders (pp. 5, 170) and inconsistencies (p. 29, note 2).

The Great Day of the Lord. A Survey of New Testament Teaching on Christ's coming into His Kingdom, the Resurrection, and the Judgment of the Living and the Dead. By the Rev. ALEXANDER BROWN. Second edition, enlarged. (London: Elliot Stock, 1894.)

ESCHATOLOGICAL subjects have an interest which never seems to wane. Any book on the last things, good, bad, or indifferent, seems to command a ready sale, and however we may explain the fact we should be inclined to trace the exhaustion of Mr. Brown's first edition to the general interest in the subject suggested by his title rather than to any unusual merit in his treatment of it. Mr. Brown's aim can be stated in the fewest words. He endeavours to show that the day of judgment is 'the historical boundary line' between the legal age and the Gospel era (p. 2). In the first edition he gave the best of his attention to the Apocalypse, and now in the second edition he adds 'a more careful examination of the other New Testament books than could be given when these were only cursorily cited to point out their agreement with certain teachings in the Apocalypse' (p. viii). Some important additions must be made to the small list of corrigenda on p. x. On p. 401 '*Ecce Homo*, quoted, 223' gives 223 for 233, and when we look up the passage we find that 'quoted' is used so vaguely as to embrace a paraphrase introduced by, 'Well has the author of *Ecce Homo* said something like this.' We suppose that the objectionable phrase 'divine humanity' (p. 401), the uniform spelling 'judgement' (*passim*), and familiarities like 'gives it the go-by' (p. 17) are intentional. Mr. Brown is so extremely obsequious to modern critics that he will not make use of the Book of Daniel because it 'is at the present undergoing smelting in the crucible of the Higher Criticism' (p. 140, note), but he has no hesitation in throwing over the 'current beliefs in the Church' as 'groundless inventions' (p. 389) if they do not harmonize with his own theories. How far they are from doing so will be seen by anyone who cares to read the 'noteworthy findings' which Mr. Brown submits to us as the summary of his work (pp. 389-93). We do not wish to blame Mr. Brown severely. He has got hold of a very precious piece of the truth, that our Lord's establishment of a supernatural kingdom was in itself a day of judgment. But if that is not to become the handle of dangerous error it must be held in its due place between other portions of revealed truth, and the list of authors which Mr. Brown gives for consultation (p. 400) omits so many weighty writers on eschatology that we are convinced that he has looked narrowly, if keenly, at his subject. The really useful writer on 'the last things' will point to the reserve of our Lord, who knew all on this subject that there is to be known, to the significant gravity and severity of the utterances of Him who is the Incarnate Tenderness, to the certainty that future happiness or misery depends upon the moral character which we form in this state of probation, and to the undeniable fact that it is possible for a created will to thwart the love of an all-merciful Creator. And Mr. Brown says little of these things.

The City of the Living God. A Note on Hebrews xii. 22-4. By ALEXANDER RICHARD EAGAR, D.D., T.C.D. Published under the direction of the Tract Committee. (London : Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1895.)

THE fundamental position of this sound handbook on the Church is 'that the Church of God is older than man, that the saving work of Christ in her is restorative work, bringing man back to the place in her for which he was made—that, in fact, she embodies in her very essential nature the dream of a universal union of mankind. But her dream is wider and fuller, for it is of a universal brotherhood of mankind as sons of God and as brothers of the hosts of Heaven, because man was made by God to take his place in this brotherhood that existed before man did, as the very root-idea of all creation' (p. 6).

It is only by the way that Dr. Eagar gives a popular and accurate account of the contents of the Epistle to the Hebrews (pp. 11-23). His main purpose is to draw out the teaching about the Church which is enshrined in the great phrases of the Apostolic writer, the city of God (p. 24), the holy mountain (p. 43), the heavenly Jerusalem (p. 102), the Church of the first-born (p. 135). He is able in the prosecution of his purpose to introduce some clear teaching on schism (pp. 59, 199), the relations of Church and State (p. 65), and the burning questions of education, divorce, and the prohibited degrees (pp. 74-77). There is a passage on p. 143, where Dr. Eagar is tracing out in detail that the 'Holy Communion is definitely connected with the sacrifice of Christ,' which is by no means clear. It is quite correct to say that for the immediate purpose 'there are certain questions as to the meaning of His offering of Himself that we may lay aside,' and as instances Dr. Eagar refers to 'the question as to "equivalence" or forensic justification, or the relation of our Lord's death to the penalty of sin.' Then follows the ambiguous sentence, 'Speaking for myself, I do not find these ideas in Scripture.' This should have been thoroughly explained, and we have no doubt that Dr. Eagar's real meaning would be quite satisfactory, because he tells us (p. 146) that our Lord's offering 'was a satisfaction for the sins of the whole world.' The element of truth which is involved in the Anselmic word 'satisfaction' is one aspect of the teaching of Holy Scripture on our Lord's sacrifice, and we wish that this had been more clearly expressed. As a rule Dr. Eagar is lucid and forcible, and although the Atonement stands in the forefront of the Epistle to the Hebrews it does not belong to the main part of the subject of Dr. Eagar's book, and we must say in fairness that this instance of a want of lucidity appears to stand almost alone in the midst of much valuable and unmistakable Church teaching.

An Introduction to the Articles of the Church of England. By G. F. MACLEAR and W. W. WILLIAMS. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1895.)

IF it is necessary for a national Church to have any articles of religion at all besides the Three Creeds of Christendom—a matter on

which some good Churchmen are doubtful—then it is certainly desirable that these articles should be properly explained by sound and competent Churchmen. The mere name of Dr. Maclear is of itself a presumption that the writers of the present manual come under this category. We say 'writers' because the names of Dr. Maclear and Mr. Williams appear on the title-page; but we gather from the Preface that the chief authorship belongs to the former. In that Preface he tells us that the reason why the modest title 'Introduction' is chosen is because the little book does not aspire to enter into competition with larger works, such as those of Bishop Burnet, Bishop Beveridge, Bishop Harold Browne, and Bishop Forbes; but we are not sure whether the work will not be more really useful than any of them, and we are quite sure that it is sounder than at least one of them. At any rate, the present manual is quite sufficient to inform the young student (for whom it appears to be mainly intended) of all he needs to know for a right understanding of the Articles, while, of course, it can and does give references to valuable works bearing on one or other of the enormous range of subjects embraced in the Articles which were published when any of the earlier works were written. In short, it brings the Introduction to, and the comments upon, the Articles up to date.

It is obviously impossible to give anything like a detailed review of such a work, or to condense further what is already a highly condensed account. It must suffice to notice one or two points in connexion with the plan of the work. By a convenient arrangement the Articles are divided into five groups, which will enable the student who desires to use the manual as a book of reference to turn more easily to the subject on which he specially desires information. Besides a very full general index, there are also indexes (or ought we to say, 'indices'?) first to the Greek words explained in the notes, then to the Latin words, and then to the English words. These seem to us specially valuable in a work in which many words are necessarily used in a technical sense which requires to be clearly defined. There is also a little history of the Lambeth Articles, with the nine Articles themselves, inserted probably to show us from what we have escaped. Both Dr. Maclear and Mr. Williams have learnt from their experience at St. Augustine's what students really want to help them in their study of such a subject, and in this manual they have adequately supplied the want.

Sermons and Addresses on Church Temperance Subjects. By H. J. ELLISON. (London: Wells Gardner, Darton and Co., 1895.)

OUR first duty must be to congratulate the venerable author of this volume on the success of the great work which has been done during the last thirty years, and of which he may truly say 'Cujus pars magna fui,' in placing the Temperance Movement on a right footing, and in giving it a status in the estimation of the English nation which it never held before. Canon Ellison, more than any man, has helped to rescue the work out of the hands of the vulgar and raving fanatic, and to make it at least respectable even in the

eyes of those who cannot quite go all lengths with him. Better than this, he has been in the foremost rank of those who have successfully insisted upon the vitally important point that all true temperance work must rest upon a religious basis, that the Church of Christ in England must be the leader in the van of the movement, and that it can give an impetus, and at the same time supply a wholesome and very necessary check to extravagance which no other organization can. An ardent believer in total abstinence himself, he can yet recognize a fact which many rabid teetotallers cannot, that the cause may be helped by temperate men who are not abstainers; and he strongly and most properly protests against the insolent assumption that such men stand necessarily on a lower platform than his own. None except those who have essayed, as Canon Ellison has done, to work in common with men who really seem to take the motto 'Touch not, taste not, handle not!' as if it were a precept of the New Testament, can appreciate the moral courage which is shown in many of the utterances in this volume which were made in the early days of the Church Temperance Movement. But the veteran worker now has his reward. He has lived to see a society firmly established which a true Churchman can cordially support without sacrificing his Church principles, a society which cultured and thoughtful men can support without any shock to their reason and their good taste. The volume before us consists of twenty-six sermons, addresses, letters, &c., wisely placed in chronological order, ranging from 1862, when the movement was quite in its infancy—if it can be said to have commenced at all—to 1891, when the aged champion, then in his seventy-ninth year, hung up his sword, having practically won the victory for which he had fought so long and so gallantly—that is, dropping metaphor, when he wrote his 'Letter on the Resignation of the Chairmanship of the Church of England Temperance Society.' Instead of attempting to review his volume, which from the nature of the case would be a difficult task, we will content ourselves with quoting a passage which, in our opinion, deserves to be written in letters of gold, for the benefit of those who, like Canon Ellison, are total abstainers and strong advocates of total abstinence, but who too often, unlike Canon Ellison, treat the question as rabid bigots, instead of treating it as reasonable Churchmen. He is speaking of that much-discussed principle of 'the dual basis,' which it was not one of the least of his victories firmly to establish; and, addressing total abstainers, he says:

'And now, after many years, perhaps, of your practice, you find that there is not one of the manifold gifts of God to you in which you are not greatly helped in your stewardship. You have better health—I am speaking here of my own experience—clearer intellectual, clearer moral perceptions, more money to spend in the service of God, and, above all, the opportunities of taking your place side by side with your tempted brother, of taking stumbling-blocks out of his way, and leading, not urging, those who have fallen in their upward course. This is your experience; and, so long as you place it before your brother-man, with the full recognition that these are debatable points, that he has a right to his opinion upon them as you have to yours, and that, therefore,

you are not "to judge" him if he comes to a different conclusion, you are not only within your right, but, on the principle of doing to others as you would be done by, you are almost bound to such a course. I cannot conceive the case of a Christian man having found the remedy for a prevalent disease and not endeavouring to spread it far and wide among others. But once transgress this tolerant attitude; let it once appear that, in your addresses, you are reflecting upon the temperate man's habits, that you are assuming for yourself the higher level of Christian practice, and putting him upon the lower; say anything which would either hold him up to ridicule or would put him in the wrong before his audience, and at every step you are violating some distinct law of the Gospel: you are violating the law of Christian charity; you are violating the law of Christian humility; you are creating a new sect of Christian Pharisees, whose orthodoxy is to consist, not in the making broad of phylacteries, but in making a new distinction between clean and unclean, in bringing back the old "Touch not, taste not, handle not," which belongs to a system long passed away. Nay, more! you are defeating the very object which you have in view. For one whom you may win by your audacity there are ten whom you will repel by your extravagance' (p. 334).

'O, si sic omnes!'

The Truth of Christianity; being an Examination of the more Important Arguments for and against believing in that Religion.
Compiled from various sources by Major W. H. TURTON, Royal Engineers. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., 1895.)

WE are always ready to give a cordial welcome to a layman writing in defence of the Faith or any portion of the Faith; and all the more so when he shows not only soundness and earnestness, but remarkable ability. A layman writing on such a subject has, from the nature of the case, certain advantages over a clergyman. He cannot be suspected of holding a brief for one side; he is a voluntary, not an official, champion; his arguments carry the more conviction because they may be presumed to have been adduced simply and solely because the writer believed them to be true, without any ulterior motive, any *arrière pensée*. We thoroughly believe, indeed, that the same may be said, as a matter of fact, of the vast majority of clerical defenders of Christianity; but still, there is always a little difference between what a man does when it is his business to do it and what a man does simply for the love of the work. There is no conceivable reason why a major of the Royal Engineers should trouble himself to write an elaborate work on the Truth of Christianity, which must have cost him much time and labour, unless he really believed it to be true. But his professional training helped him, no doubt, largely in executing his task. Belonging to the most scientific branch of the service, the mere admission into which, as an officer, is no easy achievement—though this is only the beginning of his scientific studies—he brings his science and his highly trained reasoning powers to bear upon the all-important matter in hand with very great effect. He modestly tells us, indeed, in his title-page that his work is 'compiled from various sources'; but the language

and arrangement are surely all his own. He divides his volume into four books, devoting the first book to the proof of that elementary and foundation truth of all religion, the existence of a God, advancing from step to step in each of the four chapters of the book. Book II. deals with the subject of 'A Miraculous Revelation' generally; Book III. with 'The Jewish Religion'; and Book IV., containing eleven out of the twenty-five chapters into which the volume is divided, but really occupying more than half the whole work, with 'The Christian Religion,' beginning with the thesis, that that religion is credible, and ending with a vindication of the Three Creeds of the Church. We are often reminded that his work *is* the work of a layman. He has none of the scruples that a clergyman might have in admitting that such and such a difficulty has never been satisfactorily explained to his mind; that he cannot understand such and such a text or doctrine. Perhaps a little slip now and then—(as, *e.g.*, when he suggests that any difficulty about the text St. Luke xviii. 19, 'Why callest thou me good?' &c., may be 'at once removed by putting stress upon the *thou*,' the fact being that *σὺ* is not in the original, and that therefore the pronoun is not emphatic)—shows that he is not a trained scholar and divine, which he most frankly owns that he is not. But, in one way, his work is all the more valuable on that very account, for it shows the impression that has been made, not only upon the professional, but upon an *unprofessional*, mind of high calibre. In fact, the only drawback to the book is the dress in which it appears. It is really worthy of something better than the thinnest of thin paper and rather small print. This may seem a trifle; but it is not so if it repels instead of attracting readers. We do not deny that the writer's arguments require close and sustained attention, and we suspect that they would be more likely to command it if they appeared, as they well deserve to appear, in all the glories of clear, large type, thick, rich paper, and of a goodly octavo volume, in a becoming (not a pale green) binding.

History of the Church of England. By E. L. CUTTS, D.D. ('Public School Text-Books of Religious Instruction.') (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1895.)

In the English public schools of the past the subject of Church history was either ignored altogether, or taught in a most misleading and mischievous fashion. The majority of public schoolboys, if they were not in a state of blank ignorance, probably derived the scanty information they possessed about the early Church from Gibbon. This, at least, was our own experience and that of many others at one of our largest and most famous public schools. We therefore welcome most heartily any volume which will teach our youth of the upper class Church history on right lines. The name of Dr. Cutts is of itself a sufficient guarantee that his manual will be written on true Church principles; and a perusal of this little volume fully bears out this expectation. It is written *by* a Churchman *for* Churchmen of the rising generation. But having said thus much we are bound to add that this is not one of Dr. Cutts's happiest efforts. It

bears traces of having been too hastily put together ; and there is an extraordinary want of proportion in the space given to the various periods of the Church's history. One would have thought that the writer of *Turning Points in Church History* would have been the last person in the world to have fallen into such an error. The mere conception of that work showed a happy appreciation of the real crises in the story of the Church ; but such appreciation implies necessarily a sense of proportion which is conspicuous by its absence in the present volume. Thus, out of two hundred and twenty-two pages no less than one hundred and ninety are occupied with the history of the Church before the Restoration ; so that the whole of the important history from 1660 to 1894 has to be compressed into about thirty pages, which will give the public schoolboy a strangely inadequate idea of its importance. The story of the Oxford Movement occupies just one page, while the story of the British Church (which, of course, is more or less conjectural) fills fifteen. The account of the Renaissance, or New Learning, fills little more than one page, while that of the Reformation fills forty ; so that the student would never guess that the final settlement of the Church in the seventeenth century was really on the lines of the earlier rather than on those of the later movement. Of the great Churchmen of the seventeenth century Laud receives only a passing notice ; and Andrewes, Cosin, Gunning, Thorndike, no notice at all. Turning now to details, we find slips that we should never have expected from the pen of Dr. Cutts. Was not Gregory the Great merely a deacon, not an archdeacon (p. 24), when he saw the English boys in the slave-market ? Is not 597 A.D., not 596 (p. 25), the right date of the establishment of the Italian mission in Kent ? While King Oswy's zeal is recognized (p. 42), ought the fact that he certainly murdered his brother Oswin to have been ignored ? Is it not rather a sweeping statement that Anselm was 'a failure as an archbishop' (p. 78) ? it appears to us that when he had at last a fair chance he was anything but a failure. Archbishop Theobald is twice called Archbishop Theodore (pp. 88 and 91). The crusade in which Richard I. took a leading part is called the second, instead of, as it was, the third (p. 96). Surely Stephen Langton was never 'head of the university of Paris' (p. 102), but merely a lecturer there. John Wiclif, the most prominent of Oxford's sons in the fourteenth century, is called 'a Cambridge divine' (p. 118). Henry VIII. is said (p. 154) to have founded five new bishoprics out of the spoils of the monasteries, instead of six ; the fact that Westminster, which was the sixth, was very soon suppressed, is no reason why it should be entirely ignored. 'A series of pamphlets, of which two called Martin Marprelate gave a generic title to the rest' (p. 176) is a most inadequate and misleading description of the Marprelate Tracts. On p. 187 we have the date '1628' for '1643' ; and on p. 191 'the Savoy Conference' for the 'Hampton Court Conference.' On p. 194 Butler is described as a Caroline divine—an obvious mistake for Barrow, but a mistake which the average public schoolboy will not discover. P. 195 begins a chapter with the words 'James II. (1668) came to the throne.' What

is meant by the bracketed 1668 we cannot conceive. On p. 197 we read: 'The king imposed a Popish principal at Christ Church, Oxford.' Waiving the awkwardness of the expression 'imposed at,' we will only say that there is such a personage as the Dean of Christ Church, but not a principal. On p. 201 five names are mentioned as specimens of nonjuring clergymen, the name of one of whom is spelt wrong (Hickes), another was not a clergyman at all (Dodwell), and a third (Sherlock) quickly took the oaths, and became the object of bitter attacks from the nonjurors. We need not dwell upon the grouping together of Waterland and Horsley (p. 208), nor upon the spelling of the poet Cowper's name as Cooper, and of Legh Richmond as Leigh Richmond (p. 209). Enough has surely been said to show that this little manual requires careful revision before it can answer the laudable purpose for which it is intended.

The Wondrous Cross. A Consideration in Eight Simple Addresses of the Seven Last Words in their Sacramental Aspect. By the Rev. T. M. BURNETT, M.A. (London: Skeffington & Son, 1895.)

THIS volume strikes us as a far-fetched application of the Seven Sayings of our Lord on the Cross. We cannot perceive the connexion between the Sayings and the Seven Sacraments. Perhaps the First Saying may fitly lead to thoughts about the Baptism of Infants, and the Sixth to thoughts about the Holy Communion; but where the relevancy of Confirmation is in the Second, or of Holy Order in the Fifth, we fail to see. And it is only by the exercise of some ingenuity that we discover how the writer arrives at his own treatment of the Sayings 'in their Sacramental aspect.' Could there be anything more incongruous than to compare the dying Robber on his way to Paradise, where he will be at rest, with the young Christian who after his Confirmation begins to feel the full force of the struggle with the world? It is altogether far-fetched and absurd. But besides the irrelevancy and absurdity, we should like to ask Mr. Burnett by what authority he enunciates Seven Sacraments without one word of explanation as to the difference between the two 'Sacraments of the Gospel,' and 'those five commonly called Sacraments' (Article XXV.). Surely upon Good Friday English Churchmen are entitled to be taught according to the tradition of their own Church, but the nearest approach to it in this volume is a very misleading phrase in respect of Extreme Unction, viz.: 'This Sacrament is at present almost generally in abeyance in the English Church; but for all that, we cannot deny its existence, even if we do not use it' (pp. 83, 84).

There are, however, graver things to be found fault with than the enunciation of Seven Sacraments, for upon Good Friday we may expect to have sound doctrine in regard to the Person of our Redeemer and the Fall of mankind, but we do not get either from Mr. Burnett. The following sentences will show the unsafe teaching which English Churchmen have to endure in our times:

'Here is seen the Son of God so entirely emptying Himself and

humbling Himself, that the Son of Man may be obedient, even unto death' (p. 3).

'The Cross is the completion or the finishing stage in the Great *κένωσις*, which was initiated at the Incarnation in the Conception by the Blessed Virgin Mary. That was the first self-emptying of the Son of God, but not completed till now in the ineffable *κένωσις* of the Cross. It defies all language to measure it—the complete self-emptying, as it was, of the Son of God and the Son of Man. The Son of God emptying Himself of all but His Divine Personality, the Son of Man emptying Himself of the Perfect Life of Body, Soul, and Spirit' (pp. 70, 71.)

We will not speak of the exaggeration of the theory of the *κένωσις*, though we might well do so, but we fear that Mr. Burnett does not know that he is enunciating the heresy of Nestorius in thus attributing two personalities to the Saviour. There is no excuse for such carelessness of language; and to show that the writer does not understand the elements of theology, we will quote a passage from a paragraph in which he has made a most improper use of the analogy of Holy Matrimony in reference to the Divine substance of the Father and the Son:

'Had He not, ere this, at the moment of His Incarnation, left His Father's Throne and come down from Heaven, that He might become Man? Had not this parting been a real parting between the Father and the Son, a real laying aside of glory, and leaving of the Father's House?' (p. 33).

Then as to the Fall, who will dare to approve of such a statement as this? It cuts the ground from under human responsibility to speak so. The Fall was due to wilful rebellion against God, not to ignorance of His will:

'Man sinned; but how, and why? Because of Ignorance—and,—in a state of Ignorance. The woman knew not that she was being deceived. . . . Man was purposely created Ignorant that he might learn "Knowledge," but the Devil taking advantage of this guileless Ignorance, turned it into the means of our downfall; so that innocent Ignorance became henceforth unnatural and depraved' (pp. 12, 13).

There are minor faults besides in these addresses, *e.g.* they are prodigiously long, especially IV. and V., and there is much repetition. We should recommend Mr. Burnett to make a minuter study of the Gospel narrative before he preaches the Three Hours again, for we should like to know what authority he had for making Mary Magdalene stay behind alone, when St. John took the Virgin Mother from Calvary? (p. 41). Were there not other women present at the crucifixion until all was over (St. Mark xv. 40)? There is also some confusion about the Three Hours' darkness (pp. 41, 55).

We notice also that twice in a note (pp. 31, 56), Mr. Burnett refers to the preaching of the 'Rev. F. W. Holmes, Chaplain to the late Lord Bishop of Oxford': we expect that the Rev. F. E. Holmes is intended, who is Domestic Chaplain to the present Bishop, as he was to his predecessor.

We feel bound to protest against the publication of these addresses because they are not in accordance with the received teaching of the English Church. We have pointed out a few things, but the whole volume is full of the same kind of teaching.

The Consecrated Life. Six Sermons, together with Meditations for the Devotion of the Three Hours' Agony. By WILLIAM CHARLES HAWKSLEY, M.A., Vicar of All Saints', Portsea. (London: Skeffington and Son, 1895.)

THIS book contains sermons for the Sundays in Lent and meditations upon the seven sayings of our Lord from the Cross. They were delivered extempore, but the sermons have now been written out in full, while the meditations remain in their original notes. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr. Goulburn's *Thoughts on Personal Religion* and other devotional writers. There is no claim to originality, but the sermons are thoughtful, suggestive, and admirably arranged. Here and there the language is difficult, the sentences are long, and many hard words are employed, and there is a superabundance of poetry. One idea, viz. consecration, which is defined 'as a voluntary self-submission to God's will for Him to direct and use our lives as He sees well' (p. 12), runs through the whole book, but the treatment of it is by no means equal throughout. The third sermon, upon 'Knowledge: its Need, Supply, and Use,' and the fifth, upon 'Recreation,' are quite the best of the series, though we dislike the application of the text (St. Luke ii. 49) to the latter subject. The remarks upon 'lines of study,' including both the Holy Scripture and secular literature, especially biography, fiction, and poetry (pp. 24-30), are quite excellent, and the suggestions for the contemplation of God in nature and art by way of recreation (pp. 45-47) are distinctly good, while the preacher does not forget to point out the dangers of recreation (pp. 51, 52). There are some good remarks also in the sixth sermon about the difficulties caused by 'interruption' and 'temptation,' and the 'supports' which God provides (pp. 59-61). We were disappointed with the meditations; they are, indeed, only in the form of notes, but they are not nearly so suggestive as the sermons, and we had a feeling, as we read them, that an extraneous idea was being imported into the sayings of the dying Lord which did not agree with the simple meaning of them. It would be much better if preachers on Good Friday would let the Scriptures tell their own tale, and not strive to be original in their meditations. The worshippers want merely something to guide their thoughts; they are not critical at such times, but willing to hear as children the old familiar story. We feel bound to protest against the misuse of theological terms in such sentences as these, viz. 'in this *trinity* of altruism' (p. 40), and 'in the *sacrament* of Absolution' (p. 57); for nothing was gained in either place by substituting a theological term for a common word.

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1. *Scholars of Christ: a Book for Advancing Christians.* By SAMUEL PEARSON, M.A. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1895.)
2. *Week-Day Living: a Book for Young Men and Women.* By SAMUEL PEARSON, M.A. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co., 1895.)

THESE two books, the second of which has reached a third edition, will be found to be vigorous, sensible, simple, and sincere. They consist of a series of short essays or papers, some of which seem to have appeared in the pages of the *Evangelical Magazine*, the object of the writer being to impress on his readers a more serious and religious consideration of the ordinary duties of life, and (in his own words) 'to clear away some of the grass and weeds that grow apace on the King's highway, and to rewrite a few faded letters on the old-fashioned finger-posts.' The writer seems to us to touch a great many points with a keen discrimination between that which is real and that which is a mere veneer, between the transitory and the permanent. The illustrations, too, by which he enforces his truths are likely to give them a more lasting hold on the mind of the reader, though sometimes, we must confess, they do not seem quite appropriate or relevant, as, for instance, 'Let a man indulge in day-dreams, and the clock may have struck, but he himself has put forth no grappling-hooks which join him to the day.' On the other hand the following (from the preface of *Scholars of Christ*) is likely to 'stick,' and we may quote it as illustrating the general position of the writer, and his endeavour not to lay undue stress on either the doctrinal or the practical side of the religious life:

'What we need in the individual is an all-round development of spiritual and moral strength, and in the christianized society a general advance toward new positions. Practical religion, when divorced from the spiritual impetus given by Evangelical facts, is apt to come to a stand-still, like a slip carriage when it is loosened from the express train; and mysticism may degenerate into a luxurious picnic in a sub-tropical climate of ecstatic emotion, unless it embodies itself in the usefulness of "the daily round and common task."'

We have noticed some few instances of rugged or loose expression, one or two misprints, and one or two words that ought not to find a place in English. In the first of the two books we object to 'after Christians have *been* passed' (p. 54), 'and which has been slowly,' &c. (p. 137); again, on pp. 302 (last line), 306 (lines 3 and following), we find *nor* for *or*. On p. 253 'enroll' should have, according to present-day spelling, only one l; on p. 254 for *choose* read *chose*, and remove altogether from the book such a word as *temptable* (p. 54), which may find a home somewhere with *rememberable*.¹ In the second of the two books one or two things still remain to be corrected, in spite of its being a third edition. Thus, on p. 307, we find again *nor* for *or*; on p. 270 *denominated* appears as *doneminated*, while on p. 311 the expression *nothing will stead us here*,

¹ *Week-Day Living*, p. 195.

meaning *nothing will stand us in good stead*, strikes us as unusual, if not incorrect.

So much as to the manner in which Mr. Pearson says what he has to say. If our criticisms seem trifling they will at any rate show the author that we have been careful to skip little of either of his two books. As for the matter of what is said, we might perhaps characterize it generally by an expression which we find in the books before us, as 'consecrated common sense.' Consecrated it certainly is.

'Christ does not unlock all modern problems, but He gives us the key. The key is a complicated one of love and knowledge. No doubt in olden times it would have been our duty to look into metaphysical problems as to Christ's nature. Even now we cannot escape them. We must give our yea or nay to such doctrines as Christ's deity, the sacrificial character of His death, the reality of His resurrection, the eternal relation of the Soul to God brought about by the obedience of faith, the perpetual presence of the spirit in the regenerated soul, and sanctified Church. All these have in some measure to be apprehended, even if not mastered by the ordinary Christian.'¹

And again, 'God shows us what is good in such a way that we have to exercise our faculties to read what He says. There is no infallible guidance as to particulars. But there is clear teaching as to principles;' ² and 'there is an inspiration about His principles, which enables us to regard minute matters as parts of a great life-plan which we are called upon to carry out.'³ A mention of the titles of some of the chapters—*Constant Consecration, Christian Perfection, Living to God*—may serve to clench what we have said as to the religious basis of Mr. Pearson's teaching. Every now and then, perhaps, we are pulled up by some sentence or expression which makes us pause. Thus we are told that 'creeds are the results of metaphysical operations which were once very interesting, but which have in a measure lost their interest to this generation. They seem to require experts for their unravelling, and are not suited for the people at large.' This might seem to be an assertion that the creeds are only a fossilized relic of past stages of belief, had we not the passage above quoted by which to review this apparent inference. The language about Joshua and his extermination of the Canaanites ⁴ seems not quite a right statement, and we do not quite understand such language about the Prayer Book as the following: 'The Prayer Book, in its teaching as to social life, is, in part, inspired by the spirit of mediæval ages. It often breathes the air of feudalism, and needs revision in the light of that sturdy independence of character which, with all its mistakes, is the direct growth of Christian teaching'; ⁵ or, 'They are directed so to do in the Prayer Book: but, fortunately, this is not always Scriptural in its teaching!'⁶

We have illustrated the epithet 'consecrated,' which we have applied to these writings of Mr. Pearson. Common sense is equally evident on most pages, both in regard to religion and also in regard to the ordinary everyday life, if we may so far forget Mr. Pearson's

¹ *Scholars of Christ*, p. 72.

² *Ibid.* p. 306.

³ *Ibid.* p. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 301.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 137.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 213.

main point as to draw a distinction between them. We had made a note of many pithy sentences which we should have liked to quote as expressing vividly, and therefore in language likely to retain a hold on the memory, some of the advice he is anxious to enforce. Thus *à propos* of State religion he writes, 'The stuffed bird cannot sing: nor will a nation truly praise God when its only boast is that the "fabric" of Christian ordinances is in good repair;' ¹ or in regard to cynicism, 'You may still have a bright mind, but it may be like a dark lantern, the light being obscured by a thin but opaque piece of cynicism.'²

Instead of quoting at greater length, we will conclude by referring our readers to the books themselves. They will be found suggestive and interesting, and full of sound religious advice as to how to fulfil, in a Christian spirit, the ordinary duties of life, and to make our acts of value to ourselves and to those around us.

The English Bible: a Sketch of its History. By the Rev. GEORGE MILLIGAN, B.D. (London: A. and C. Black, 1895.)

HANDBOOKS of Church history are always welcome, provided that they are reasonably accurate. They may not increase the sum of knowledge, but they diffuse it; and the diffusion of information relating to the Church is good alike for the Church itself and for the individuals who learn it. The handbook before us (which is one of a series of sixpenny 'Guild Text Books') is excellently suited to its purpose. It is a sober, well-proportioned, and accurate history of the English Bible from the earliest times to the appearance of the Revised Version. The Anglo-Saxon period is, indeed, passed over briefly; but this part of the subject is of comparatively little interest to the general reader, and the summary is accurate, so far as it goes. The Wycliffite Bible is adequately treated, though the distinction in style between the portion executed by Hereford and the rest of the work deserves to be mentioned as explaining the need for Purvey's revision. The best part of the work, however, is that which deals with the printed Bible. With so sound an authority as Bishop Westcott for a guide, there is no excuse for going far wrong, and Mr. Milligan's narrative will be found trustworthy, besides being illustrated by representative selections from each of the successive English Bibles. The chapter on the Revised Version is clear and good, and does justice to its merits. This we consider one of the most useful sections of the book. It is of great importance to make the general public realize the value of the Revised Version. There need be no question in this generation of substituting the Revised Version for the Authorized; but readers of the Bible who are not scholars are apt to overlook the benefit to be derived from using the Revision side by side with the Authorized Version, especially in reading the Prophets or the Epistles. Whatever may be thought of the literary merits of the Revision, it is foolish not to profit by its scholarship in matters of text and interpretation, and the writers of handbooks such as Mr. Milligan's can do good service by remind-

¹ *Scholars of Christ*, p. 298.

² *Week-Day Living*, p. 260.

ing the general public of this fact. Moreover, by their accounts of the various Bibles which preceded the Authorized Version, they lessen the instinctive feeling of prejudice against the existence of any other English Bible than that which has so deeply (and so fortunately) entwined itself in the affections of the English people.

Handbook for Travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, &c.
 Edited by Major-General Sir CHARLES WILSON, R.E., K.C.B.
 With Maps and Plans. (London: John Murray, 1895.)

AN ordinary 'Murray's Handbook' would hardly require notice in these columns, but the new *Handbook for Asia Minor* stands rather apart from the common run of such publications. It appeals not merely to travellers in the country, who can hardly be numerous, but also to the much larger body of persons who are interested in its history and antiquities. There are not many books to which the reader can turn for comprehensive information on these points. Asia Minor is not like Greece, or Egypt, or India. It has rarely stood by itself, but has rather been the appendage of neighbouring empires, according as East or West has triumphed for the time in their long, unceasing struggle. Its history must usually be sought in the records of the very diverse peoples who from time to time have been its masters. It is, therefore, more than commonly useful to have a volume in which these scattered threads are brought together, and in which the history of Asia Minor is told as a connected and continuous narrative. The work has fallen, too, into good hands. The history of the country is told, down to B.C. 47, by Mr. Hogarth, who is at once a scholar, a good writer, and one of the few persons who have travelled much in Asia Minor; its fortunes under the Roman and Byzantine empires are narrated by Professor Ramsay, from whom we would gladly have heard more, especially as to its ecclesiastical organisation; and from the coming of the Seljuks Sir Charles Wilson takes up the tale. Professor Ramsay and Mr. Hogarth have also made considerable contributions to the accounts of antiquities and the general directions for travelling, while the various routes are described by a number of competent travellers. The maps have been compiled with great care, and include a good deal of hitherto unpublished material relating to the less known parts of the interior. The islands on the coast of Asia Minor are separately treated in a sort of appendix, with summaries of their respective histories; but, on the other hand, the history of Mesopotamia and Persia is very bald and inadequate. So far as regards Asia Minor, however, this volume will be found extremely useful as a book of reference by all who are interested in its history or antiquities, while even the general reader will find in it much that is readable and profitable; and in this respect we should not forget to mention the sections which deal with the ethnography and characteristics of the several peoples.

A Wandering Scholar in the Levant. By DAVID G. HOGARTH, M.A.,
Fellow of Magdalen College. With Illustrations. (London :
John Murray, 1896.)

It is a long time since we came across a book of travels so attractive as this. A book of travels, indeed, in the ordinary sense of the term, it is not. It is no mere journal of exploration, no record of scientific results, geographical, ethnographical, or epigraphic. It is rather a series of pictures of the life of a traveller, and more particularly of a traveller in search of archæological remains. Mr. Hogarth does, indeed, give indications and slight outlines of his principal expeditions, and we see him now inscription-hunting in Phrygia, now crossing the Taurus with a sick companion and within a measurable distance of starvation or collapse, now exploring unknown tracts of Cappadocia, or, again, resurrecting the monuments of Pharaohs in Egypt or of prehistoric Greeks in Cyprus. But for the solid results of such expeditions the reader must search in the records and monographs of learned societies ; here he will find it all treated in a lighter vein, and with regard to literature as well as science. Mr. Hogarth has a vigorous rhetorical style, and his chapters are alike easy and most attractive to read. He has good stories to tell and vivid pictures to paint. The bargains for Hittite and other *anticas*, especially the great stone at Bor, are most amusing ; and the description of the Turks of Anatolia might be found instructive by amateur politicians and even by professionals.

Perhaps the chapter on Egypt will attract most readers, since Egypt is a country which many visit and in which still more feel a considerable interest. They will find it treated in a style which, for vigorous rhetoric, is unsurpassed even in this well-written book, but hardly from a sympathetic standpoint. It is a little less than kind to the Egyptologist to say that 'the study of ancient Egypt has fallen within the province of the curious amateur or the narrow specialist, little acquainted with any other scholarly study' (p. 171) ; and Mr. Hogarth must have temporarily forgotten his favourite Greece when he speaks disparagingly of Egypt because it is small in extent (p. 159). Still everyone has the right to his own opinions, and whether we agree with Mr. Hogarth or not, we can at least enjoy an exceptionally vigorous piece of writing. Mr. Hogarth has, in short, produced a picturesque, readable, instructive book, and has known how to combine science and literature in a manner which is as rare as it is pleasing. Some photographs and a map add to the value and interest of a volume which we hope will have successors as occasion may serve.

A Treasury of Meditation ; or, Suggestions as Aids to those who desire to Live a Devout Life. By W. J. KNOX LITTLE, M.A., Canon of Worcester and Vicar of Hoar Cross. (London : Skeffington and Son, 1896.)

THE constant appearance of new books on meditation points, we trust, to the growth of this most useful devotional exercise. There is, perhaps, hardly one of these many books which can be unreservedly

recommended, and it is well that this should be so; for meditation, to be really profitable, must be the work of the individual soul, guided by the Holy Spirit. Canon Knox Little clearly recognizes this fact, and in his preface modestly calls the book 'a collection of suggestions and helps to those who find meditation difficult' (p. ix). A book of prepared meditations can only be a sort of crutch, and one of its aims should be to show its readers how to meditate by themselves.

This *Treasury* has certainly some good points. It is neat and attractive in appearance, concise in arrangement. The meditations are short, fairly simple, and interesting. But there are two chief defects in the book. First, although for each meditation a passage of Scripture is given, often of considerable length, it appears in many cases to be, after all, used only as a suggestive heading rather than the real basis of the meditation. We are not shown how the meditation is the working out of the Scripture. We should like rather to see clear reference at the beginning of each 'point' to the words which suggest it. A book of helps of this sort ought to bring the soul face to face with 'the living oracles,' and each 'point' in most cases ought to flow naturally from the text. This is one of the great merits of such a book as Avancini's *Vita et Doctrina Jesu Christi*. We wish that example were more followed in English books on meditation. The second defect is a certain carelessness or looseness of expression, which is a serious defect in very condensed and epigrammatic writing, meant to be developed by the person using the meditation. There is too much offhand statement, which leaves the impression of not having been thoroughly thought out, but suggests rather the extempore preacher, or some devout and fluent person in a hurry. Hence we find such a statement as this concerning our Lord's first miracle: 'He works a miracle simply to save people trouble and help them out of a little difficulty' (p. 62). Besides being most misleading in itself, this sentence leaves altogether out of sight the fact that this miracle was 'a sign' (St. John ii. 11) as well as an act of benevolence. Again, there is need to revise and weigh some of the words in the really beautiful meditations on the B.V.M. (pp. 207-229). There is nothing in this series which is in principle un-Catholic, but there are some expressions which might easily be perverted. For example, what is the ground of this statement (to say nothing of the English of it): 'She is near Him by asking Him, and He never refuses her' (p. 227)? We do not think this a happy description of St. Stephen: 'a kind of sidesman to count up money' (p. 258). Nor does St. Mark xiv. 51-52 quite justify one in saying, 'He who wrote it' (the Gospel) 'only names himself (indirectly) to record one act of cowardice and failure' (p. 246)? Again, why are we told, 'St. Mark is a simple layman' (p. 245)? To what period of his life does it specially refer? Of course no one is born in Holy Orders, but it seems most natural that St. Mark should have been ordained some time before he became (if Eusebius is to be believed) Bishop of Alexandria. We do not like prayer being called 'the electricity of eternity' (Pref.

p. vi); and such a misprint, twice repeated on one page (p. 208), as '*Son of Righteousness*' might surely have been avoided. Still the book, in spite of these blemishes, might be a useful present to one beginning meditation, and we heartily sympathise with the writer's motive. 'It is hoped that what *has* been a help to a soul may be a help to other souls' (Pref. p. x).

The Law of Sinai; being Devotional Addresses on the Ten Commandments. By B. W. RANDOLPH, M.A., Principal of Ely Theological College, Hon. Canon of Ely, Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896.)

THIS is a thoroughly good little book, and might well be recommended to the clergy generally, as well as to candidates for ordination, for whom it is primarily intended. The addresses, though necessarily brief, are full of good thoughts and suggestions. The style is simple, clear, and attractive. The tone is practical as well as devout, and the book would serve both as an exposition of the Commandments in the light of present-day needs and as a basis for meditation.

There are many to whom, for one cause or another, the Decalogue, or rather the prominent position which the Church of England gives it, presents something of a difficulty. They suspect a Judaic bias on the part of the Reformers, or they consider that one or two at least of the Commandments are no longer binding; or perhaps the spirit of modern criticism has created a half-unconscious doubt as to the claims of any part of the Mosaic Law to be literally the Word of God. The Principal of Ely speaks on these points, especially, we are thankful to see, on the last, with no uncertain sound. 'They are God's commandments. "God spake these words and said." They are a revelation, an integral part of God's unveiling of Himself. They are words which disclose something of His will, His attributes, His character, His relations to us men' (p. 8).

We naturally turn in any book on the Decalogue to seek help on the second and fourth Commandments. The address on the second is distinctly good, except that it makes little attempt to deal with the problem of the fathers' sins visited upon the children. It rightly explains the phrase 'a jealous God' of the legitimate jealousy of true love. It is the 'claim of Almighty God to the whole-hearted devotion of man' (p. 39); 'love demands love' (p. 41). The last section well expresses the permanent truth which underlies the letter of the commandment. 'It is from first to last an appeal to walk by faith, not by sight' (p. 46). The address on the fourth Commandment, again, is clear, sound, and outspoken. This law teaches the consecration of all our time to God, in labour and in rest; and also the special consecration of one day in seven (a precept as old as the creation and perpetually binding) to worship and the remembrance of eternity. 'The Sunday question' is, of course, a difficult one, and there may, we venture to think, be legitimate differences of opinion within the Church on some of the matters of detail with which Canon Randolph deals, e.g. the playing of games on Sunday

(see p. 85) ; but we are thankful to him for stating definitely first principles, and for trying to clear the question of cant.

'The Sunday question, it is said, is a working man's question, and (it is implied) he wants it relaxed. Does he? Is it the working man who gives dinner-parties and entertainments, employing innumerable servants, on Sunday? Is it the working man who is making Sunday in the West End of London the most secular day of the week? Is it the working-man who devotes Sunday to lawn-tennis or billiards?' (pp. 83-84).

But we think that the Commandments of the second table are better treated than those of the first. There is some clear, sensible, practical, and manly advice in the address on the seventh Commandment. And perhaps the best addresses of the series are those on the eighth and tenth. On the eighth it is refreshing to read, 'The underlying principle of this commandment is God's recognition of the rights of property' (p. 148). And yet the author is perfectly clear on the duties of property and on the dangers of wealth, though it is quite correct to say, 'To be without riches, to be poor, is His first Beatitude' (p. 151)?

There is a passage of great beauty and solemnity in the address on the tenth Commandment (pp. 180-185), describing the inner life of the soul, the penetrativeness of the Divine judgment, and the Divine authority which such a commandment as this implies.

'If any further assurance is needed that the Decalogue is not a composition of a merely human legislator but was a revelation from God, we have it in this commandment ; for what human legislator would ever have dreamed of trying to force his way into the sacred shrine of the hidden and private life of his fellow-man?' (pp. 180, 181.)

Lastly, we must note the simple, strong advice to the clergy which runs throughout the book, and especially in these later addresses the advice concerning recreation, the value of time, the necessity of labour, and above all of *study*. Canon Randolph, like all those who have to do with the training of candidates for ordination, knows how difficult it is to bring home to a large class of not at all insincere candidates that any study is necessary before ordination, except such as is required to pass the Bishop's examination, or any at all afterwards. The substance of our last quotation has often been said before, but it needs to be repeated as long as nonsense is talked or thought about the danger of 'clericalism' or a 'clerical caste.'

'Among much that might be said, let us reflect upon this—that just as we like a soldier to be a thorough soldier, and a sailor to be a thorough sailor ; so people will be looking to us to be thoroughly what we profess to be—thorough men of God, thorough priests. What sort of priest is the layman likely to come to in any really serious moral crisis, or to send for on his death-bed—the one whom he knows to have been trying to live true to his Ordination vows, or the one who was best known in the neighbourhood as a good shot, or a good man to make a fourth at whist, or who was so well known at garden-parties or dances, or who was such a good judge of wine or pigs?' (pp. 156-157).

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Browning and the Christian Faith; the Evidences of Christianity from Browning's Point of View. By EDWARD BERDOE.
(London: George Allen, 1896.)

THE poetry of Robert Browning is a phenomenon of great significance to any student of the history of Christianity. In a century of unparalleled revolt against the supernatural, unparalleled not so much in vehemence as in its systematic character and moral earnestness, one who is acknowledged not only as a great and original poet, but also as a profound thinker; a man of wide learning, historical, scientific, philosophical; moreover one who is intensely in sympathy with his own age, its strivings and difficulties and modes of thought—this man has set himself deliberately, as the purpose of a life, to vindicate the reasonableness of the Incarnation. That Browning did this we fully agree with the author of this book cannot honestly be denied. To argue that in this poem or that he is merely speaking dramatically is to ignore the whole bent and aim of his poetry. To dispute whether Browning personally believed in the Incarnation is mere trifling. If he did not, surely no sceptic ever took such pains as he did to make the doctrine attractive and help others to believe in it. Browning's religious teaching is repeated with a singular persistence and uniformity under the most varied shapes. Whether he is writing in the character of David, or St. John, or Innocent XII., or Karshish, or the impatient seeker in 'Christmas Eve and Easter Day,' his conclusions are the same; and they are well summed up in the lines from 'A Death in the Desert' which Dr. Berdoe prefixes as a motto to his book.

'I say, the acknowledgment of God in Christ
Accepted by thy reason, solves for thee
All questions in the earth and out of it.'

And next to the reasonableness of the Incarnation Browning teaches with equal persistence the practical conclusions which flow from it—the worth of human life, its essential freedom and hopefulness. The problem of apparent failure is one which he has made peculiarly his own; and it is this which has made him a comforter to many depressed ones, whether their sickness was born of the nervous strain of our present time, or of the curious pessimistic fatalism which evolutionary philosophy has set as a yoke about men's necks. We need only refer to such poems as 'Abt Vogler,' 'Rabbi Ben Ezra,' or 'The Last Ride Together.' Once more, Browning has sung of love, such love as only a Christian could, we do not say write about, but even conceive possible—such love as that of Caponsacchi and Pompilia, or of husband and wife in 'By the Fireside' or in 'One Word More.'

We are, therefore, in hearty sympathy with the purpose and spirit of this book. And the brief preface shows us that the book is a personal 'Apologia.' But it is impossible to congratulate Dr. Berdoe upon the manner in which he has worked out his idea. To begin with, his work has many literary, and even more theological, faults. It is too much a cento of quotations, prose and verse, to be interesting. To make

matters worse, a good deal of the writer's own work consists really of tags and echoes from Browning pieced together without marks of quotation. The result, of course, is that the style is wooden and dull. It is difficult to gain a comprehensive view of the drift of a chapter. The author seems rather conscious of this, and tries to help his readers by paginal headings. The references are often careless and untrustworthy. For example, on p. 4 comes a quotation from F. W. Newman; on p. 5, in the same paragraph, another simply cited as 'Newman,' and without any marginal reference, which really comes from J. H. Newman. The reference on p. 51 to Tacitus, *Ann.* v. 13 (*sic!*), is, of course, wrong. It should be Tac. *Hist.* The name of Professor Knight's book, referred to on p. 110, is not *The Christian's Ethic*, but *Christian Ethic*. These, of course, may be mere slips. But the worst is that the quotations themselves are often untrustworthy. Dr. Berdoe has a most irritating and unscholarly habit of giving a mere loose summary of a passage from some author with marks of quotation as if it were *verbatim*. Such, for example, is the passage cited as from Origen on p. 63; or that from Thomas à Kempis on p. 115, to which no marginal reference at all is given. And the following is positively misleading. On p. 208 we read (it is evidently meant as a sneer at the doctrine of eternal punishment), 'Count Guido was not well up in his scholastic theology, or he would have remembered that St. Thomas Aquinas says, "That the saints may enjoy their beatitude *and the grace of God more richly*, a perfect sight of the punishment of the damned is granted to them."' To begin with, the marginal reference to this is wrong; it should be 'Suppl. Qu. 94,' not 93. And what St. Thomas actually says is, 'Et ideo ut beatitudo sanctorum eis magis complaceat, *et de ea uberiores gratias Deo agent*, datur eis ut poenas impiorum perfecte videant.'¹

Sermon Sketches. [Second Series.] Taken from some of the Sunday Lessons throughout the Church's Year. By the Rev. W. H. HUTCHINGS, M.A., Canon of York, Rector of Kirby Misperton, and Rural Dean. (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1896.)

THE present-day multiplication of books of 'sermon schemes' is much to be deprecated. It points, we think, not to the laziness of the clergy, but to the fact that they are too busy. They have so much parochial 'serving of tables' that they have no time for 'the daily reading and weighing of the Scriptures.' It points, perhaps, also to the fact that many of them have had no training whatsoever in English composition. However, we cannot but welcome this second series of Canon Hutchings's most excellent *Sermon Sketches*. They cannot fail to be suggestive, whether used as models for the preacher or, as the preface suggests (p. vii), for private meditation. They are the work of a scholar and a careful theologian, and on every page they bear testimony to the fact that an accurate knowledge of dogma is the best foundation for practical teaching. We

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must especially recommend both the clearness with which each point is brought out, and the fulness and richness of the matter. Each section is simply packed with useful thoughts or carefully-chosen references; and yet the whole is concise and readable. The heading of each division is in large type, so making reference easy; as well as giving an object-lesson to the preacher of the value of a clear division of his subject. There is no straining, nor dragging in of outside matter; each point flows naturally from the subject. We see in each 'Sketch' the beauty both of a well-stored mind and of an exact and conscientious style of expression.

We might especially commend the sermon for Septuagesima Sunday on the Creation of Man (pp. 70-75); though there is a curious misprint on p. 71, l. 5 from bottom, 'God created man, or, if you like, atoms,' where for 'man' obviously one should read 'matter.' And it is a pity to lay any stress on the English rendering 'a living soul' (p. 74), for of course נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה is used indiscriminately of the life of animals and of man. The next sermon, on Noah, is also very good; e.g. 'walking with God' is admirably expounded under these heads: it involves (1) belief in God as a person; (2) trust; (3) conformity of will; (4) joy; (5) progress (pp. 79-81). The sermon on 'The Oblation of the Body,' for the first Sunday in Lent (pp. 88-94), is excellent, and contains some useful teaching on the positive as well as the negative value of fasting, in liberating 'certain spiritual forces within us, whereby alone either soul or body can become acceptable to God' (p. 92). There is a very beautiful sermon (pp. 275-281) on 'The Woman which was a Sinner.' The words 'for she loved much' are explained in a more satisfactory manner than we remember seeing in any commentary. 'Love is the distinctive offering of the penitent,' &c. (p. 277). The Sermon on 'Angelic Contentment' (pp. 269-274), based on the difficult text Dan. x. 13, is interesting. Indeed, throughout the book a worthy feature is the way in which difficulties are not slurred over, but reverently and closely grappled with. As to the sermon for Trinity Sunday (pp. 176-182), on the appearance of the Three to Abraham in Gen. xviii., do not Gen. xviii. 33 and xix. 1 point to the fact that one of the Three is especially called 'the LORD,' while the other two are attendant angels?

Lastly, in thanking Canon Hutchings for his book we must express particular gratitude that so many of these sermons are on Old Testament subjects; and that while modern theories are evidently known to the writer he keeps them strictly in their place, and never allows them to obscure the positive spiritual teaching of the Old Testament, which is set forth in a manner truly learned and truly Catholic.

Official Year-Book of the Church of England. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1896.)

WITH pleasure we welcome this fourteenth volume of a most useful publication. Each year it has told us what the Church has been doing, and much that would never have otherwise been known of the

efforts Churchmen are making for the spiritual good of the nation has thus been brought to light. By this means some have been encouraged; others stimulated to do for their own parishes or neighbourhoods what has been found useful elsewhere; whilst all who have read the book must have felt how much spiritual power and living force there must be in a community of whose doings so much may be truthfully said. It might have been expected that in a few years all that could be written of such work had been said, and beyond a revision of the statistical tables there was nothing remaining for the editor to do. Such, however, has not proved to be the case. Each year there have been additions and improvements, clearly serving to prove that whilst much is known there is still more that remains to be known. This year we note several examples of the kind. We note that the statistical tables at the commencement of the volume are much more complete than they have been in previous years, thirteen thousand incumbents having given the information asked for, whilst no returns have been received from only four hundred and one parishes, and no doubt in many of these cases the omission has been caused by the death or illness of the incumbent. Then there are noticed for the first time (1) Clerical Reading Societies, which are important as showing the efforts that are being made to promote increased opportunities and encouragement for study amongst the Clergy; (2) Cathedral schools, of which there are several, some of them occupying an important position in providing higher education for boys in their vicinity; (3) more complete and systematic statistics concerning colonial and missionary work; (4) tables showing the work that has been done during the last three years by the Church in the United States, so far as that work can be described by statistical tables. These returns were presented to the General Convention of the American Church, when it was recently held, and have been communicated by authority to the *Church Year-Book*; they are a record of what has been accomplished during each of the years of the triennial period they cover, and they show the orderly method for obtaining statistics of parochial work, which is a feature of the organization of the Church in the United States. The fact of these statistics having been sent to the editor proves the importance attached by our American brethren to the publication in which they are inserted. (5) An account of the diocesan organizations for the defence of the Church, which have been called into existence to resist the efforts recently made to disestablish and disendow a portion of the Church of England; (6) a chapter on social questions, designed for the information of those who ask, What interest are Church people taking in certain aspects of dealing with problems that affect large classes of the population? The labour of compiling such a volume must be enormous; and we can only hope that the invaluable services of the honorary editor may be recognized as they ought to be, and the importance of the work which he so ably accomplishes be understood by the many who we trust study the record of facts which he places before them.

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